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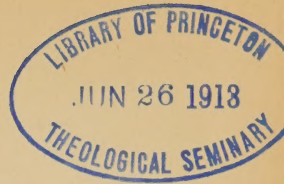
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Introduction to dogmatic
theology

INTRODUCTION
TO
DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.

INTRODUCTION

TO



DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.

ON THE BASIS OF THE

XXXIX. ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

✓ BY
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PART II.

ORDER OF SALVATION (INDIVIDUAL).

COMMUNION OF SAINTS.

ESCHATOLOGY.

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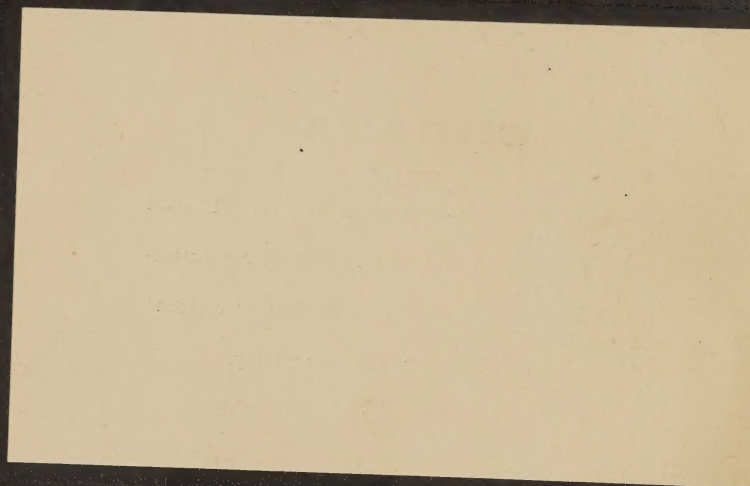


Page 78, line 13 from bottom, for "formal" read "instrumental."

Page 194, line 8 from bottom, insert after "distinction" "in kind."

Page 268, line 2 from top, insert before "resides" "properly."

Page 350, line 17, read "soul" for "body."



P R E F A C E .

THE present volume completes the 'Introduction to Dogmatic Theology, on the basis of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England,' the first part of which appeared some years ago. The preface to that part sufficiently explains the position and object of the writer. So far as the Thirty-nine Articles, the properly dogmatical symbol of our Church, are concerned, there is no doubt of their Protestant character, and, further, of their belonging rather to the Reformed than to the Lutheran branch of Protestantism. This is abundantly proved by the admissions of the able writers who, after a vain attempt to construct an Anglican, or *via media* theology, have, from time to time, abandoned the communion in which they were born and baptized for a more congenial one ; in which no Protestant symbols stand in the way of a full development of *via media* principles. The writer now only wishes to observe that it has been his aim to introduce to the notice of English divines that branch of theology which in Germany has received the name of 'Symbolik,' and of which Möhler's work is probably the specimen best known to us ; that is, a scientific comparison of the dogmatical systems of the two great divisions of western Christendom, exhibiting their fundamental doctrinal differences, rather than the popular aspect which they severally present to the world. In the Elizabethan age, and for some time subsequently, this branch of study, though not systematically cultivated, generally formed part of the theological equipment of our divines ; as may be seen in the works of Jewell and his contemporaries, in the smaller treatises of Hooker, and, later on, in those of Bishop Hall, Field, and Davenant. Circumstances, to which it is unnecessary here to refer, brought about a neglect of it ; our Universities ceased to contain or send forth champions of genuine Protestantism ; with the result that, when the Oxford movement began many years ago, it bore in the eyes of the clergy and many distinguished laymen the aspect of a new discovery ; instead of being (as it was)

Romanism under a new guise, that is, Romanism shorn of some of its most prominent peculiarities, such as the formal co-ordination of tradition with Scripture as the rule of faith, the addition of five sacraments to the two appointed by Christ, the abuses of Purgatory, the supremacy of the Pope, and the like.

Romanism (including its mutilated counterpart, Anglo-Catholicism) is a religion of the incarnation, the virtue of which is communicated by sacraments; Protestantism is a religion of the atonement, the virtue of which is appropriated by direct faith in Christ, His word and His work, not, however, to the exclusion of sacraments in their proper place. Broadly, this is the difference. On neither side are these cardinal facts of revelation, or their connection, denied; there could have been no atonement if there had not been an incarnation; but the stress laid on the one or the other, and particularly differences of view as regards the instrument of appropriation, may affect our whole conception of Christianity and lead to widely divergent theological systems. To explain this, and to make it clear that some modern theories on, among other points, justification, the nature of justifying faith, and the sacraments, are nothing but a revival of the scholastic theology, on which Romanism itself is founded, is the general design of the work of which this volume is the concluding portion.

With the exception of the topics, the rule of faith and man before and after the fall, the former part of the work dealt but little with modern controversies; controversies, that is, which have arisen since the Council of Trent. Happily, the principal divisions of Western Christendom all accept the three creeds, and the decisions of the early Councils on the Holy Trinity and the Person of Christ. With the present part the case is different. Eschatology, perhaps, excluded, the matter is distinctly controversial, and on points which, to the present day, are warmly debated. The plan of the author rendered this necessary; but he trusts that no expressions, or insinuations, have fallen from him inconsistent with the temper which ought to govern theological controversy.

CONTENTS.



	PAGE
ORDER OF SALVATION (INDIVIDUAL) - - -	1
CALLING.	
§ 60. Connection of the Word and the Holy Spirit - - -	4
§ 61. Effectual Calling - - -	10
§ 62. Conversion - - -	20
JUSTIFICATION.	
§ 63. Etymology - - -	32
§ 64. Witness of the Spirit - - -	37
§ 65. Formal Cause - - -	42
§ 66. Justifying Faith - - -	55
§ 67. Assurance - - -	68
§ 68. Degrees - - -	71
§ 69. Baptismal Justification - - -	73
§ 70. Purgatory in Relation to Justification - - -	83
REGENERATION.	
§ 71. Definition - - -	88
§ 72. Unio Mystica - - -	97
§ 73. Sanctification - - -	99
§ 74. Good Works - - -	104
§ 75. Perseverance - - -	117
§ 76. Election - - -	123
COMMUNION OF SAINTS - - -	137
THE CHURCH.	
§ 77. Definition - - -	139
§ 78. Visible and Invisible Church - - -	149
§ 79. Continuation - - -	155
§ 80. Continuation - - -	159
§ 81. The Christian Ministry - - -	161
§ 82. Polity of the Church - - -	170
§ 83. Powers of the Clergy (the Keys) - - -	178
§ 84. Primacy of the Bishop of Rome - - -	189
§ 85. Church and State - - -	194

MEANS OF GRACE.

A.—*The Word.*

					PAGE
\$	86.	Preaching	-	-	- 204
\$	87.	Prayer in the Name of Christ	-	-	- 206

B.—*The Sacraments.*

88.	Definitions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	209
89.	Number of the Sacraments	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	216
90.	Opus Operatum	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	223
91.	Intention of the Minister	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	225
92.	Effect of the Sacraments	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	227
93.	Circumcision and the Passover	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	231
94.	Baptism	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	236
95.	Infant Baptism	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	241
96.	The Eucharist—Institution	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	251
97.	The Real Presence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	258
98.	Ubiquity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	269
99.	Transubstantiation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	275
100.	The Mass	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	290
101.	Benefits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	303
102.	The Reformers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	311

ESCHATOLOGY.

§ 103. Death - - - - - 326

INTERMEDIATE STATE.

104.	Survival of the Soul	-	-	-	-	-	-	332
105.	Consciousness	-	-	-	-	-	-	338
106.	Development	-	-	-	-	-	-	343
107.	Probation	-	-	-	-	-	-	347
108.	Locality	-	-	-	-	-	-	354

SECOND ADVENT.

\$ 109.	Chiasm	-	-	-	-	-	-	361
\$ 110.	Resurrection of the Body	-	-	-	-	-	-	365
\$ 111.	The Judgment	-	-	-	-	-	-	371
\$ 112.	Apokatastasis	-	-	-	-	-	-	374
\$ 113.	New Heavens and a New Earth	-	-	-	-	-	-	380

INTRODUCTION

TO

DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.

ORDER OF SALVATION (INDIVIDUAL).

‘PREDESTINATION to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) He hath constantly decreed, by His counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom He hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore, they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God be called according to God’s purpose by His Spirit working in due season : they through grace obey the calling : they be justified freely : they be made sons of God by adoption : they be made like the image of His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ : they walk religiously in good works, and at length, by God’s mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity. . . . We must receive God’s promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture ; and, in our doings, that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God’ (Art. xvii.). ‘Æterna electio seu prædestinatio Dei ad salutem non simul ad bonos et ad malos pertinet sed tantum ad filios Dei, qui ad æternam vitam consequendam electi et ordinati sunt, priusquam mundi fundamenta jacerentur’ (Sol. Decl. xi. Lutheran). ‘Credo Filium Dei, ab initio mundi ad finem usque, sibi ex universo genere humano cœtum ad vitam æternam electum, per spiritum suum et verbum, in vera fide consentientem, colligere, tueri, ac servare, meque vivum ejus cœtus membrum esse, et perpetuo mansurum’ (Cat. Heidel. liv. Reformed). ‘Constituimus duas partes pœnitentiæ, vid. contritionem et fidem. Si quis valet addere tertiam, vid. dignos fructus pœnitentiæ, hoc est, mutationem totius vitæ et morum in melius, non refragabimur’ (Apol. Conf. Aug. v.). ‘Per pœnitentiam intelligimus mentis in homine peccatore resipiscentiam verbo evangelii et Spiritu S. excitatam fideque vera acceptam, qua homo agnatam sibi corruptionem peccataque omnia sua . . . agnoscit, ac de his ex corde dolet’ (Expos. Simpl., c. xiv.). ‘Quapropter loquimur in hac causa . . . de fide viva vivificanteque, quæ propter Christum quem comprehendit viva est’ (*Ibid.* xv.). ‘We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine’ (Art. xi.). ‘Albeit that good works which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God’s judgment ; yet

are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith' (Art. xii.). 'Voluntary works, besides, over and above, God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety' (Art. xiv.). 'Not every deadly sin willingly committed after Baptism is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after baptism' (Art. xvi.). 'Item docent quod homines non possint justificari coram Deo propriis vivibus, meritis aut operibus, sed gratis justificentur propter Christum per fidem, quum credunt se in gratiam recipi, et peccata remitti propter Christum. . . . Hanc fidem imputat Deus pro justitia coram ipso' (Conf. Aug. iv.). 'Item docent quod fides illa debeat bonos fructus parere' (*Ibid.* vi.). 'Interim proprie loquendo nequaquam intelligimus ipsam fidem esse quæ nos justificat, ut quæ sit duntaxat instrumentum, quo Christum justitiam nostram apprehendimus' (Conf. Belg. xxii.).

It was the Saviour's command, after His ascension, that the Apostles should remain at Jerusalem, refraining from the active discharge of their office until the promise of the Father, to send upon them the Holy Ghost, should be fulfilled (Acts i. 4). For the accomplishment of redemption was one thing, the application of it another. The former was the work of the second Person of the Trinity—the Son Incarnate, the latter that of the third, the Holy Spirit, and this Divine Agent could not, in the appointed order of things, be vouchsafed in the fulness of His gifts, until the Redeemer, made perfect through suffering, had passed into the heavens, to claim the reward of His obedience unto death, and to exercise His regal and priestly functions on behalf of His Church (John vii. 39). The prophetic office of Christ was to be perpetuated, not by Himself in person but by the Holy Spirit, His Vicar, and only Vicar, upon earth; the active Administrator of the Christian dispensation. From the Holy Spirit's inspiration were to be derived the further revelations which were needed to supply what was wanting in Christ's personal teaching (John xvi. 13); and by His gracious co-operation with the Word and Sacraments the Church was to be called into being, perpetuated, and conducted to its consummation. Christ has not left His Church in a state of orphanhood (John xiv. 18); He is still present with it, but not as the Incarnate Son, but as the third Person in the economy of redemption.*

* Hence the interchange of the terms Christ and the Holy Spirit in the New Testament; *e.g.*, 'I will pray the Father and He shall give you another Comforter that He may abide with you for ever: I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you' (John xiv. 16, 18). 'That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith' (Ephes. iii. 17). 'Christ in you the hope of glory' (Col. i. 27). Hence, too, the difference of meaning in which the same word 'grace' is used in reference to the three Persons of the Trinity. Thus the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ (2 Cor. viii. 9) is not the same as the grace of God which made Paul what he was (1 Cor. xv. 10); and neither is identical with the grace of the Father spoken of in Tit. ii. 11; if, indeed, we may introduce the Trinitarian relations into this last passage.

‘The Lord,’ we read, ‘added to the church daily the saved’ (Acts ii. 47). The process thus briefly indicated may be resolved into several parts or stages, which, collectively, have received the name of the order of individual salvation. Scripture itself furnishes examples of such an arrangement, of which the most complete is that in Rom. viii. 29, 30 : ‘Whom He did foreknow He did also predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son ; moreover, whom He did predestinate, them He also called ; and whom He called them He also justified ; and whom He justified them He also glorified.’* The Apostle here proceeds from the eternal counsels of God to their accomplishment in time ; but it may be of advantage to adopt the reverse method, and commencing with facts which come under our cognizance, to ascend from them to the Divine causality which is their ultimate source. These may be summed up under the three principal heads of Calling, Justification and Regeneration, each comprising or implying several distinct operations of Divine grace. The Divine Election may claim a place, and the last place, to itself, as not being among the ‘earthly things’ of redemption which take place in time (John iii. 12) ;† while as regards the final glory to which the Church is predestinated, it belongs rather to the topic of Eschatology, and leads our thoughts beyond the present life. Two cautions may be premised : one, that these steps, or stages, in the Christian life represent rather a mental analysis, or order of ideas, than what actually takes place ; Christ in us, the hope of glory (Col. i. 27) is the one fact which comprises all ; practically they are simultaneous, and refuse to be tied to an invariable succession in time. The other, that the divisions usually adopted are not quite accurate. Election, for example, is a transcendent act of God, and it is only in its results (conversion, etc.) that it claims a place in an order of individual salvation. The same, to some extent, is true of the Divine calling, and of justification as the act of God, as distinguished from a justified state. Yet as these transcendent acts are followed by corresponding operations of the Holy Spirit in the individual, and thus become subjective, the terms by which they are denoted may, in a looser sense, be applied to such operations and stand for them.

* Compare 1 Cor. vi. 11 : ‘Ye are washed, ye are sanctified, ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of God.’ Also 1 Pet. i. 2.

† Regeneratio est ex cœlo non tamen in cœlo. Bengel, in loc.

CALLING.

§ 60. *Connection of Word and the Holy Spirit.*

On the subject of the divine calling theologians have proposed various distinctions. It is either extraordinary or ordinary, mediate or immediate, external or internal. Extraordinary calling is that which takes place, not through the regular ministration of the Word, but in the way of miracle; as when the Magi were led by a star to Bethlehem, or the thief on the cross, according to Jerome's opinion, to faith in Christ by the prodigies that accompanied the Crucifixion. The term may also be applied to designation to any special office or function in the Church, as when St. Paul describes himself as called to be an Apostle (Rom. i. 1). Ordinary calling is through the appointed means—viz., the Word. Mediate is when God makes use of angelic or human instrumentality; immediate when He dispenses with such agency, as in Abraham's call and Saul's conversion.* External calling consists in the public preaching or other ministry of the word; internal in the secret operation of the Holy Ghost.† As to the extension of meaning which some Lutheran theologians have given to the term 'calling,' in order to establish its universality—viz., that it may include the spiritual lessons to be derived from the works of creation‡—it seems out of place in this connexion. It is true that Scripture attributes it to a culpable blindness on the part of the heathen that they did not profit by the traces of deity in creation and providence (Acts xvii. 27-29; Rom. i. 20), and seems also to suppose an internal presence in man of the Logos, or divine Word, beyond the pale of revelation and universal (Joh. i. 9). But what we are here concerned with is that Divine vocation which is founded on an accomplished work of redemption and is effected through appointed

* Quenstedt, P. iii., c. 5.

† Duplex a nobis vocatio agnoscitur, pro duplici statu ecclesiæ visibili et invisibili, externa et interna. Illa quæ fit tantum ministerio verbi et sacramentorum, quæ sunt externa media applicationis. Ista vero insuper interna et omnipotenti virtute spiritus S. Turretin, Loc. xv. 21. It is incorrect to describe the sacraments as means of *calling*.

‡ Quinetiam liber naturæ gentibus debuit esse magister divinæ cognitionis. J. Gerh., L. viii., c. 7. So Bellarmine: Possunt Gentiles quibus nondum est Evangelium prædicatum cognoscere per creaturas Deum esse, et proinde posse a Deo per gratiam prævenientem excitari ad credendum de Deo quia est, et quod inquireribus se remunerator sit; et ex tali fide excitari possunt ad adorandum, etc. De Grat. et Lib. Arb., ii., c. 8. But only a natural religion (whether saving or not we need not determine) could spring from these sources; not fellowship with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

means,* and which invites those to whom it comes to repent and believe on the Lord Jesus Christ. And the first question that here occurs is that indicated in the heading of the section.

The Protestant confessions, as cited above, assign distinct, though never disunited, offices to the Word and the Holy Spirit in the calling of the sinner. A professed call of the Holy Spirit which disavows connection with the written Word is always open to suspicion. Such a pretended inward illumination is commonly the offspring of enthusiasm, sometimes fanatical, sometimes even immoral. On the other hand, the Word may remain spiritually inefficacious from its not being accompanied by the influence of the Spirit who dictated it, as daily experience proves. Paul may plant and Apollos water, but God alone can give the increase.

The glad tidings of salvation were committed to inspired heralds for promulgation throughout the world, as the appointed means of gathering in the Church. The Gospel was to be preached to every creature (Mark xvi. 15); Christ, either in person or through His ambassadors, came to call sinners to repentance (Mark ii. 17); His sheep hear His voice (John x. 3, 16); when the wedding-feast was ready, the King's servants were sent to invite the guests to come (Matt. xxii. 3). The Gospel was to produce its effect by appealing to man as a rational creature, with a power of choice either to receive or reject the message. This excludes the notion of a mere external disciplinary institute, such as the law of Moses, or of a magical change independent of the will and affections. Changes of moral sentiment can only be produced, as far as human agency is concerned, by a presentation to the mind of truth, real or supposed, old or new, or the old under a different garb—truth which shall supply motives to action. The Word, no doubt, was confirmed at first by signs and wonders following (Mark xvi. 20), but this was to launch it on its career under a divine attestation; and God will not, in the ordinary course of His dealings, repeat these evidences of the Holy Spirit's presence, or, where the Word remains unfruitful, supply in any other way the defect (Luke xvi. 31). Faith, according to St. Paul, is the connecting link between the soul and Christ, but faith and the Word are correlative terms. Hence we cannot conceive how a Church is to be gathered out of heathenism except through the ministry of the Word. 'How shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard?

* *Vocatio est gratuita Dei actio quæ propter Christum se suamque voluntatem hominibus manifestat, eosque invitat ad ecclesiam suam ut convertantur et salventur.* Quenstedt, P. iii., c. 5, Thes. 15.

and how shall they hear without a preacher?' (Rom. x. 14). Until this first step is taken there is no room for questions about sacraments or polity. An invitation, and an acceptance or rejection thereof, are the turning-points in the spiritual history of every individual.

It is not necessary or possible to confine the term 'Word of God' to the written Scriptures. It was by the oral teaching of the Apostles, for many years before the revelation was committed to writing, that Churches were formed and built up; and it is by oral teaching, founded on the written Word, that Christianity is now propagated among the heathen. Those who are called, whether out of heathenism or in the visible Church, may be so in a variety of ways: by catechetical instruction as well as by formal preaching, by the providential events of life, by the atmosphere of Christianity which more or less surrounds every member of a Christian Church. To those baptized in infancy the period of confirmation is a special summons to make the decisive choice. But in some way or other the call must come to each person individually. Such a type of mission as that with which the Jesuits are credited, of baptizing in the mass without previous instruction, cannot plead Scripture as an example.

It would be transcribing a large portion of the New Testament to adduce proof that the Holy Spirit must co-operate with the Word to produce a saving effect; and not merely by signs and wonders, but by inward illumination and spiritual suasion. 'No man can call Jesus Lord' to a saving result, 'but by the Holy Ghost' (1 Cor. xii. 3). If Lydia attended to the things spoken by the Apostle, so as to become a Christian, it was because the Lord opened her heart to do so (Acts xvi. 14). To the Thessalonians the Gospel came not in word only, but in power and in the Holy Ghost, and its reception was an evidence of their election of God (1 Thess. i. 4, 5). 'The things which God has prepared for them that love Him' need to be 'spiritually discerned' as well as recorded in the volume of inspiration (1 Cor. ii. 10, 14). St. Paul begs the prayers of the Thessalonians that the word of God might have free course and be glorified—prayers which he anticipated would be the means of securing the assistance of the Holy Spirit (2 Thess. iii. 1).

Thus far Protestants and Romanists are in substantial agreement, though the different degree of prominence which they respectively assign to the Word and the sacraments in the process of salvation betrays itself even here. With Protestants the Word is the primary instrument of regeneration, with Romanists the sacrament of baptism. But, as regards the connection of the Word with the Holy Spirit, a difference of view exists in the Protestant

formularies, or principal theologians, themselves, at least after a certain date.

The Confession of Augsburg declares, in general terms, that through the Word and sacraments, as instruments, the Holy Spirit is conferred; who produces faith, when and where it seems good to him, in those who hear the Gospel.* The Formula Concordiæ (Lutheran) seems, at first sight, to confine itself within the same limits—"the preaching of the Word and the hearing thereof are instruments of the Holy Spirit, with which and through which it pleases Him to work efficaciously on men";† but, on closer inspection, the notion appears in it which was adopted by the Lutheran theologians of the next century, viz., that a certain Divine power is immanent in the Word itself, an inherent efficacy resides in the very letter. It will be observed that the Formula Concordiæ declares not only that the Holy Spirit works *through* the Word but *with* it;‡ and in this addition consists the advance of doctrine on the Lutheran side. For to work with the Word, as distinguished from through it, can only mean that, independently of the Holy Spirit's influence, the written (or preached) Word is instinct with life, and may, by its own light, shine into the soul. This seems to be the meaning of Quenstedt: 'The instrumental cause (*causa organica*) of conversion is the external preaching of the Word, appointed thereto by God, and always, as far as His serious intention is concerned, efficacious. For the preached Word of God possesses an intrinsic Divine and sufficient power to effect regeneration, conversion, illumination, etc.; whence it is called "the power of God unto salvation."§ And still more clearly of Hollaz: 'The power of the Divine Word is intrinsic to it; not accidental but essential, by Divine appointment; and, therefore, not separable, but the reverse; and inherent, irrespectively of the hearer (*extra usum*).'|| The aim of these writers appears to have been twofold: first, to oppose

* P. i., Art. 5. Comp. Apol. Conf. Per hæc enim, vid. per verbum et sacramentum, operatur Spiritus S. C. xii., 70. (Franke, Lib. Sym b. Eccles. Luth.).

† P. ii., c. 2, 52.

‡ Prædicatio et auscultatio, cum quibus et per quæ . . . operari vult.

§ Theol. Polem. Didact., P. ii., c. 5, Thes. 9. Comp. Thes. 15: Vocatio est Actus gratiæ Spiritus S., per externam verbi prædicationem *in se semper sufficientem et efficacem*.

|| Examen, P. iii. § 2, c. 1, Qu. 4. Non competit vis divina verbo Dei scripto per nudam *παράσσειν* et assistentiam externam, ita ut in se, et extra usum spectata, Scriptura S. vi illuminandi, etc., destituta sit. Ergo suam vim et efficaciam habet et retinet *etiam extra usum* (sicut soli vis illuminandi constat, licet nemo ipsum conspiciat, et sicut semen interna pollet efficacia quamvis in agrum non sit sparsum). *Ibid.* Hollaz seems to forget that though in one sense the seed retains its vigour *quamvis non sparsum*, it cannot germinate until it meets with a suitable soil.

the false spiritualist tendencies which, as in all religious revivals, appeared here and there in the early years of the Reformation, divorcing the inward light from the written Word, Christ in the heart from Christ in the Scriptures. And, in the next place, to strengthen their position against the Calvinistic doctrine of absolute decrees. It is, in fact, evident that in proportion as the Word is supposed to possess an inherent efficacy, whenever and to whomsoever it is preached, the doctrine of a special Divine influence, working where and when it wills, is, if not ignored, thrown into the background. Since the Word addresses itself to all indifferently, if the Holy Spirit is so united with it as to be inseparable, then the Holy Spirit, likewise, in the Word approaches all; and the distinction between calling and effectual calling may be overlooked. It will depend on the receptivity of the hearer whether the result is beneficial or not. The analogy between this theory and the Lutheran doctrine of the Eucharist cannot fail to suggest itself. Just as the Body and Blood of Christ are united with the elements, independently of the reception (*extra usum*), so here the Holy Spirit is, by a kind of consubstantiation, supposed to be inherent in the Word written or preached (*extra usum*). And the result is to reduce the agency of the Holy Ghost to the original act of inspiration, under which the Scriptures were written. What notion can we form of a spiritual presence supposed to be immanent in a book, or an oral discourse? The Divine calling is spoken of in Scripture as a personal act, but incorporated in a book, even though that book be the Bible, it loses its personality; it becomes a quiescent force, which is a contradiction in terms. Moreover, though nothing could be further from the intention of its framers, the theory seems to approach the confines of Pelagianism. For a book, or a discourse, produces its effect by presenting motives to the mind, which operate thereon in the way of natural suasion. The Bible, no doubt, from its quality of inspiration, possesses, as no other book does, a power to awaken the conscience and move the affections; it is, even as a book, the Word of God in a sense in which no other book is; still its mode of operation, as a book, must be supposed analogous to that of uninspired compositions. In short, it is assumed that the instrument, though of Divine origin, operates of itself and by moral impression; and this, if efficacious to salvation, presupposes in the natural man a power to respond to the appeal, and thus to pass, unaided from above, from a state of nature to a state of grace. That the primary act of inspiration dispenses with further Divine assistance is indeed nowhere maintained by these writers; it could hardly be so except by those who reject the doctrine of spiritual influence. On the contrary,

they speak of a Divine power accompanying the Word, analogous to the *Concursus Dei generalis* in nature, or that presence of God which is not withdrawn even where it seems to operate under the form of impressed laws.* But in other hands the theory has been worked out to results not in harmony with Scripture. The point in which it is deficient is in not assigning due prominence to the agency of the Holy Spirit as a Person, working with His own instrument, indeed, but independently thereof. The Word was inspired by Him; the Word is the mean which He uses (*ὄργανον*); He speaks to us in and by the Word; but the calling of God implies more than this, and the necessities of the case demand more. The mind of fallen man is darkened, and his affections carnal; no book, not even the volume of inspiration, can of itself or by virtue of an immanence of the Holy Spirit therein remove these impediments: what is needed is an immediate work of the Holy Spirit on the spirit of man, that of a Person on a person, operating with the direct and subtle influence which only a person can exercise. We cannot think too highly of the Scriptures as the one inspired record of the mind of the Spirit; but we must not embody the Spirit in His own appointed channel of grace; we must allow Him to remain outside and over it. Calvin, rather than his Lutheran brethren, speaks in accordance with Scripture. 'When St. Paul tells the Ephesians that they were "sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise," he intimates that an internal Teacher is necessary, by whose assistance the offer of salvation is brought home to the mind; which offer otherwise would beat the air, or only strike our ears. In vain would the light present itself to the darkened eyes of our mind unless the Spirit should open them; in vain would preachers cry in the wilderness unless Christ Himself, by the internal teaching of His Spirit, should draw those who are given Him by the Father.† The general teaching of the Reformed Churches, our own included, is in accordance with these statements. And, curious to say, they receive unexpected confirmation from the great Tridentine theologian, Bellarmine: 'If it be said that efficacious grace seems not to belong to the category of inspiration' (in the general

* Si a verbo Dei separaretur spiritus S., non esset id Dei verbum vel verbum Spiritus, sed esset tantum verbum humanum. Hollaz, P. iii., s. 2, c. 1, 24. This is true, and important against those who deny the inspiration of Scripture; but it might be supposed to mean that no more is needed to the saving efficacy of the word than the fact of such inspiration. The same writer, however, remarks: Per verbum intelligitur externa verbi prædicatio et lectio quæ, ut in animis auditorum et lectorum optatum assequatur effectum gratia Dei imploratur, ut impedimenta removeat et corda aperiat (*Ibid.*); which seems to recognise the necessity of assisting grace, and substantially to coincide with Calvin's views.

† Instit., L. iii., c. 1; comp. L. ii., c. 5.

sense of the word) 'or calling, for that these latter are concerned with the letter not with the spirit; if it be asked, what difference is there between internal suasion and external preaching, and we know that external preaching is letter, not spirit?—we reply that there is a great difference. For external preaching addresses itself to the bodily ears, internal to the inner man; the one proposes the object, the other communicates an inward light, and affects the will.'*

§ 61. *Effectual Calling.*

Why is it that when the same Word is addressed to an assembly of hearers (or readers), some give heed to it and some do not, or not to the same extent? Of the fact there can be no doubt. Experience amply proves it. It is matter of common complaint that whether in missions or in Christian countries the effect of the Word preached is apparently but limited. And the statements of Scripture lead to the same conclusion. In the parable of the sower, only one kind of soil bore fruit; in two the seed sprang up, but failed to come to perfection; and one remained entirely without impression. Yet all received the same seed, and from the same sower. Christ Himself complains in prophecy that He had stretched out His hands to a disobedient people (Isa. lxxv. 2), and His personal ministry was of the same character. It was comparatively but a few, in each sphere of labour, to whom the preaching of the Apostles appealed with salutary effect. A twofold answer may be given to the question; it may be said, either that the difference is to be sought in the subjects themselves to whom the Word comes; or that the intensity of spiritual operation, the degree of grace, accompanying the Word, is not the same in all cases, with the result of failure in some and success in others. The Lutheran theologians above mentioned (§ 60), who held that the Holy Spirit is, in some sense, immanent in the Word, were compelled, from their theory, to adopt the former alternative; for if the spiritual agency necessary to conversion is supposed to be imbedded in a book, it is difficult to conceive of its being otherwise than one and the same in all instances. That is, they denied the distinction between ordinary, or, as it is sometimes called, sufficient, and effectual grace; grace is always sufficient if it meets with a favourable soil.† The

* De Grat. et Lib. Arb., i., c. 13.

† Efficax est vocatio, quia Deus omnium hominum adductionem ad regnum gratiæ et gloriæ per efficacia media serio intendit. Vocantur enim homines a Deo per Evangelium, quod est spiritus et vita, i.e., Spiritu vivificante animatum. Hollaz, P. iii., s. 1, c. 4, Qu. 13. This obviously is a different notion of effectual calling from that e.g. of F. Turretin: An vocatio interna et efficax

Reformed type of Protestantism, and also the Romish theologians who belong to the school of Augustine, Anselm, and Thomas Aquinas, naturally lean to the other hypothesis.* That is, they supposed a distinction in the nature of the grace itself, antecedently to the result : in some cases it is effectual, in others not. To which side our church inclines is sufficiently plain from Art. xvii. : 'They which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God' (predestination unto life) 'are called, according to God's purpose, by His Spirit working in due season ; they, through grace, obey the calling,' etc.

That some calling must be what is called effectual follows from the doctrine of original sin, as commonly held in the Church. According to it mankind, as a whole and antecedently to differences between individuals, is involved in spiritual ruin ; in regard to which all men are upon a level. In the lower sphere of natural virtue (*civilis justitia*) great differences of character appear ; some are respectable and amiable, others not so ; some, such as Christ Himself, as the Son of Man, could love (Mark x. 21), others in His sight hypocrites and a generation of vipers (Matt. xxiii. 33). But into the superior sphere of the new life in Christ none can enter by the powers of unaided nature ; the natural man 'cannot turn and prepare himself by his own strength, or good works, to faith and calling upon God' (Art. x). Out of this corrupted mass it is the purpose of God, as our 17th Article declares, to bring a certain portion by Christ to everlasting salvation ; not merely to the possibility of attaining it, but to the thing itself. In the case of these persons it is obvious that a grace of calling so effectual as not to fail of its intended object must be presumed : that is, it must be a grace not dependent on free-will for its efficacy, for of free-will as implying a power to originate, or maintain, a decision for what is spiritually good mankind is by nature destitute ; it must be of such a character as not to be liable to be finally overcome by human resistance. For the very reason why the remainder of mankind does not attain to eternal life is that whatever common, or ordinary,

distingnatur tantum ab externa a posteriori et eventualiter ? An vero etiam a priori, ratione voluntatis et decreti divini, et naturæ ipsius vocationis ? Lutherani enim vocationem internam et externam a parte rei unam eandemque censent, ita ut omnes externe vocati interne quoque vocentur. Rogati vero qui fiat quod vocatio externa in uno sit efficax in altero non ? respondent id ab hominis oriri voluntate. Sed orthodoxi discrimen istud non ab hominis libero arbitrio suspendunt, et solo eventu dimetiuntur ; sed ab ipso Dei decreto, et natura vocationis et discrimine gratiæ subjectivæ, quæ longe efficacius in his quam in illis operetur, petunt. Loc. xiv. 21. Hollaz's definition does not give sufficient prominence to the personal agency of the Holy Ghost.

* Bellarm., De Grat. et Lib. Arb.

grace may accompany the act of calling, or of incorporation in the visible Church, it is not adequate to secure the proposed end, as experience proves. According to the doctrine of the Church, every descendant of Adam comes into the world with the will enslaved in a wrong direction ; when, it may be asked, is it even so far emancipated as to have the power of choosing the right ? Every infant, it is sometimes replied, born in a Christian Church and baptized, recovers this power, to a greater or less extent ; the will is restored to a state of equilibrium ; it cannot, of course, actually operate, owing to the immaturity of the subject, but the faculty is present, to be exercised in due time. But, in the first place, it is difficult to understand how the mere fact of Christian birth, or the administration of baptism to an unconscious subject, can replace a power which was lost by the fall ; at best, it is a mere hypothesis, and never can be proved. We can form no real conception of the state of Adam before the fall, since it transcends all our experience : as possessing the gift of independent personality he must have been endowed with that of free-will, coupled with the possibility of falling, as the event proved, but also with the possibility of resisting temptation ; created in a state of moral perfection, and needing no superadded gift of grace, as the Romish Church teaches, to curb the propensities inseparable from a material nature. We have no right, indeed, to introduce the Biblical term ‘grace’ into the dispensation of Paradise, where it could have no place.* Adam’s will was free, but not in a state of indifference ; its freedom consisted in its naturally inclining to good. This is all that we can surmise respecting a condition so far removed from what we actually find in and around us. The state of man after the Fall is that, though he possesses will as a mere faculty of human nature, his will is inclined to evil, under bondage to sin ; and whether Christian birth or baptism can break the fetter is not told us. But, in the next place, to restore to the will the mere power of choosing between good and evil, to leave it in a state of indifference, would be entirely inadequate to ensure the salvation of any individual, and, under these circumstances, Christ might be left without a Church to share with Him the glory which is the recompense of His cross and passion. Assisting grace, it is said, is offered and will be given to those who use the partially emancipated will aright, to those who endeavour to wish in accordance with the will of God ; but against this merely assisting grace are arrayed the remaining ‘infection of nature,’ which Art. ix. pronounces not to be removed, even in the regenerate, still less so, surely, in the merely called ; the prevalence of evil

* See § 32.

example; and the temptations of Satan. Is it any wonder if, to say the least, in the majority of instances, it succumbs?

This grace, supposed to be vouchsafed to all the members of a visible Church, is sometimes called 'sufficient,' an unhappily-chosen term. It cannot be sufficient if its success is dependent on the proper use of a will which is in a state of indifference, and which, under the circumstances of the case, is far more likely than not to go in the wrong direction. What is needed is a grace which shall determine the will to action, take it out of its equilibrium, and incline it to obey the voice of Divine invitation in preference to other charmers, charm they never so wisely. It is of little avail to strike off some of the chains of a prisoner and bid him come forth, while others confine him beyond his strength to free himself from. Does the sufficient grace become efficacious from the co-operation of man, or from some further special assistance of God? That is the question. The Pelagian would adopt the former alternative, the orthodox Christian the latter. And this Christian would be supported by the general language of Scripture, which ascribes effectual calling to a work of God analogous to that of creation, or the resurrection of a dead body (Ephes. ii. 1, 10), and by the spiritual instincts of the believer himself. He would be the first to repudiate the notion that his conversion is partly owing to his own efforts, and partly to Divine grace. Afterwards, no doubt, he may be exhorted to work out his salvation with fear and trembling, on the very ground that it is God that works in him both to will and to do (Phil. ii. 12, 13). In short, sufficient grace, as understood by those who use the term,* must become controlling, or, as it is sometimes called, sovereign grace, to issue in a saving result. The premisses of original sin and predestination being granted, there seems no escape from this conclusion. The two doctrines, taken as the Church understands them, and according to the apparent meaning of Scripture, necessitate a series of middle terms, of which the first is effectual calling. The chain cannot be broken except by either extenuating the effects of the fall, or reducing the notion of election to that of a national one, or that of admission

* 'The example of St. Paul authorizes us to believe and argue that God is no such respecter of persons, and that grace sufficient to salvation is denied to none to whom the offer of salvation is made through faith in Christ Jesus, and who are united to Him in baptism' (Sumner, *Apost. Preach.*, c. 4). But those to whom St. Paul addressed his Epistles are supposed not merely to have had 'the offer of salvation,' but to have accepted it; to be real believers. Their conversion from heathenism, their presumed repentance and faith, were the tokens of their election. Really sufficient, *i.e.* effectual, grace is supposed to have been vouchsafed to them. The writer's argument, as is evident, proceeds on the supposition that infant baptism is the normal case of Scripture.

to privileges which may or may not be improved. Bellarmine justly remarks: 'That there is such a thing as efficacious grace follows from the simple fact that, if we deny it, we overturn the doctrine of the Divine predestination; for predestination, as Augustine says, is preparatory to grace, but grace itself is the actual gift. Predestination is the foreknowledge and prearrangement of that Divine mercy by which whosoever are freed' (from sin and death) 'are most certainly so freed. God knows that there are certain spiritual gifts by which spiritual freedom is infallibly effected, and in the case of the elect bestows them; but what is this but effectual grace?*' The substance of which is, that a more powerful agent is needed for the purpose in view than the grace which the same writer calls sufficient, but which is thereby proved to be not sufficient.† The term 'irresistible' grace is equally ill-chosen; all grace is resistible; what is meant by it is that some grace, though it may be resisted, eventually prevails, comes out victorious from the conflict. The Arminian, represented by Tomline, Mant, Lawrence, and others of their school, makes this contingent on such freedom of will as fallen man either possesses by nature or recovers in baptism; the Augustinian replies that this is not enough, that the case demands a more powerful remedy; such a grace as shall fix the will in its moral freedom, or render it morally impossible that it should not choose the good; a freedom of will such as we must suppose the elect angels to possess. And this more powerful remedy is what

* De Grat. et Lib. Arb., i., c. 11. Hence, although properly the consequence of election, calling is used in Scripture for this gift itself, as being substantially the same thing. 'Called saints' (Rom. i. 6; comp. ix. 24; 1 Cor. i. 2; 1 Thess. i. 4, 5; especially 2 Tim. i. 9); 'make your calling and election sure' (2 Pet. i. 10). The church itself, ἐκκλησία, the community of the called, receives its name from the same grace.

† See the sarcastic remarks of Pascal, in conference with the Thomist monk who, like Bellarmine, endeavoured to reconcile 'sufficient' with 'efficacious' grace: Mais enfin, mon père, cette grace donnée à tous les hommes est *suffisante*. Oui, dit-il. Et néanmoins elle n'a nul effet sans grace *efficace*. Cela est vrai, dit-il. Et tous les hommes ont la *suffisante*, continuai-je, et tous n'ont pas l'*efficace*. Il est vrai, dit-il. C'est à dire, lui dis-je, que tous ont assez de grace, et que tous n'en ont pas assez; c'est à dire qu'elle est suffisante de nom, et insuffisante en effet. Ma bonne foi, mon père, cette doctrine est bien subtile. Avez-vous oublié, en quittant le monde, ce que le mot de *suffisant* y signifie? Ne vous souvient-il pas qu'il enferme tout ce qui est nécessaire pour agir? Let. Prov., 2. So Bp. Overall (in Bp. Hall's 'Via Media'): Ut succurreret humanæ infirmitati Deus voluit *addere* specialem gratiam magis efficacem et abundantem, quibus placuerit communicandam, per quam non *solum possint*, sed etiam actu velint, credant, obediunt, et perseverent. If the other grace is 'sufficient,' what need is there of an addition to it? The 'power to wish' (ut possint) is the Pelagian possibilitas, against which Augustine contends (De Grat. Christi); only Bellarmine, like his master, makes it a gift not of nature but of grace.

Augustine and Calvin understand by the efficacious grace which is bestowed on the elect.*

The conclusion seems unanswerable ; and yet it is encountered by a body of Scripture-language to which we must assign its due weight. Can God seriously wish the salvation of those to whom, as the event proves, this efficacious grace is not given? Scripture abounds with general invitations : ‘Come unto Me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden ;’ ‘him that cometh unto Me I will in no wise cast out ;’ ‘whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely ;’ they seem inconsistent with any other supposition than that salvation is intended for all to whom the external calling is addressed. And if so, must not some sufficient accompanying grace be also vouchsafed? But, in fact, such a mode of address presents no difficulties. As long as the ministry of man is employed in the work of calling, no other mode can be adopted. For since the human ambassador cannot know who are to be the subjects of efficacious grace, or whether the whole assembly to whom he speaks may not be of the number, he has no alternative but to propound the offer in general terms : there is no method of calling in the elect except by a promiscuous invitation.† But it is otherwise with *expostulations* addressed to those who refuse to accept it. Their refusal assumes in Scripture the character of culpability. ‘Why will ye die, O house of Israel? I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth ;’ ‘Wherefore when I looked that My vineyard should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?’ ‘How often would I have gathered thy children together, and ye would not?’ ‘Ye will not come to me that ye may have life.’ In these, and similar passages, blame is attached to the recusants, and why should it be so if they had no power, without special grace, to comply with the call? If we discard the misleading term ‘sufficient,’ there seems no inconsistency in supposing that influences of the Holy

* The elect angels serve and love God not by necessity, in a metaphysical sense of the term : there is no contradiction in the supposition that they might not do so. But it is morally certain that such a change will not occur.

† *Piscator jaciendo rete intendit tantum bonos pisces capere ; sed indirecte malos etiam bonis commixtos corradi.* Turretin, L. xv., Q. 2. It would be more correct to say that, as the *human* agent, his business is to cast the net universally ; leaving it to the Divine Employer to discriminate between the good and the bad fishes. And this seems to be the meaning of the Synod of Dort when it affirms that, ‘as many as are called by the Gospel are seriously called. For God seriously and most truly shows in His Word what is pleasing to Him, viz., that the called should come to Him. He also seriously promises eternal life to all who do come in faith’ (c. iii., A. 8). Nothing can be more true ; but whether all who hear will come is another question. The synod seems to assume (properly) that the called of whom it speaks may, for what man knows, be of the number of the elect.

Spirit may accompany the word which fall short of effectual grace. In the case of those born in a Christian Church and brought under religious instruction, such initial strivings of the Spirit may well be anticipated as probable; and that they are not peculiar to the Gospel dispensation but were common under the law may be inferred from Stephen's reproof of his hearers: 'Ye do always resist the Holy Ghost, as your fathers did, so do ye' (Acts vii. 51). Some Calvinistic theologians, though not Calvin himself,* are prone to make effectual grace the only grace applied;† and some Lutheran, too, deny any distinction of grace; possibly both may be in error.‡

The Synergistic controversy, which, soon after Luther's death, arose among Protestants, was chiefly concerned with these preliminary stages of spiritual influence. Those who held the necessity of co-operation on man's part argued, not without reason, that if the Holy Spirit could be resisted, He might also be admitted; but they failed to explain to what it is due if the resistance is overcome. Their contention, in fact, only amounted to what all must acknowledge, that God, in this matter, does not exercise a blind force, a *natura naturans*, but deals with the being whom He has endowed with the privilege of independent personality, after the manner of a free agent—by moral appeal and tentative solicitation (inward as well as external)—and in this way overcomes the impediment. The controversy, in substance, repeats itself in every age of the Church. There must, it is argued, be even in fallen man a faculty receptive of grace; else how would he differ from the fallen angels? Something to which grace can attach itself, whether we call it natural conscience, or the image of God, defaced indeed, but not wholly obliterated. Scripture speaks of an 'obedience of faith' to the

* *Deus solide in illis (electis) obsignat adoptionis suæ gratiam, ut stabilis et rata sit. Sed hoc minime obstat quin illa inferior spiritus operatio cursum suum habeat etiam in reprobis. Experientia ostendit reprobos interdum simili fere sensu atque electos affici ut ne suo quidem iudicio quicquam ab electis differant. Inst., iii., c. 2, 11.*

† Turretin seems to admit inferior degrees of grace:—Non negamus certo sensu hanc distinctionem admitti posse; si intelligatur sufficientia, *non absoluta et simplex* sed secundum quid; tum ratione mediorum externorum tum *ratione internæ illuminationis* ad cognitionem veritatis et fidem temporariam, Loc. xv., Q. 2. But he does not follow it out. Turretin's 'inadequate' grace of illumination is apparently the only grace that Whitby allows. Five Points, Disc. iii., s. 7.

‡ Gratiam in sufficientem et efficacem dividendam esse negamus; siquidem una eademque Dei gratia sit quæ in credentibus operatur, et quæ ab incredulis repellitur. J. Gerh., Loc. xii., c. 6. 'Any subtle distinctions between true and special, or common grace, are mere nullities as to any practical purpose of the preacher.' Sumner, Apost. Preach., c. iv. Perhaps so, as regards the preacher; but as regards the theologian?

Gospel-call (Rom. i. 5 ; 1 Thess. i. 8), and of relative differences in the natural man when it describes some as 'of the truth' (John xviii. 37), and others as hardening themselves against it. Shall we ascribe these differences wholly to natural temperament, and not also in part to a pædagogical and preparatory* work of the Spirit? The ministry of the Word is represented in Scripture as never without some spiritual effect, though it may be for the worse: it is 'a savour of death unto death as well as of life unto life' (2 Cor. ii. 16); it may be the innocent occasion of arousing the enmity of the natural heart, which had previously lain dormant, and transforming indifference into hostility. As regards the parable of the sower, we may ask whether the different results sprang wholly from natural differences in the hearers? Those who for a time received the Word with joy, and those who suffered it to be choked with worldly cares, brought no fruit to perfection; but how came they to be impressed with it at all? The strong man, after being expelled from his abode, returns to it (Luke xi. 24); but mere nature could not have effected even a temporary expulsion. The well-known passages, Heb. vi. 4-6, x. 26, admit of more than one interpretation, and one is that the grace therein described did not amount to effectual. If some branches in the true vine are fruitless, still as branches, and not merely connected by an external ligature, they must, it would seem, in some sense and to some extent, have derived life from it (John xv. 2). The same truth seems to follow from the history of religious revivals. Waves of religious impression, as in the Baptist's ministry, from time to time pass over the Church, and yet leave little permanent result behind. We dare not ascribe them to any source but that whence all good comes, but they are of a different quality from an effectual Divine vocation; grace may have ruffled the surface of the soul without penetrating to the centre of the moral being. Such initial grace Bellarmine not inaptly describes as conferring a *power* to wish to repent, but not the actual wish. The will is so far emancipated from the thralldom of sin as to be able to feel its misery and seek for deliverance, but at present no further: it is, as observed above, *arbitrium liberatum* but not *arbitrium liberum*. Such may be supposed to have been the state of Saul of Tarsus before his conversion, who, according to one interpretation of Acts ix. 5, had found it hard to resist the goads of conscience even before Christ was revealed to him.

The difficulty, of course, remains, why the Holy Spirit, after

* This term is more appropriate than 'preventing'; for, as will be seen from Art. x., preventing grace, as understood by the compilers, is the first step towards effectual.

apparently proceeding to a certain extent in the communication of grace, should not complete His work by transforming preparatory into efficacious grace? Why should He retire before the end is attained? We cannot assent to Turretin's mode of removing the difficulty: 'Although God does not intend the salvation of the reprobate by calling them, yet no hypocrisy is to be imputed to Him. Seriously and truly He exhibits to them the way of salvation, seriously exhorts them to follow it, and most sincerely promises salvation to all who repent or believe.'* It is not the general invitation that causes perplexity (see above); if the elect are to be gathered in, the net, as cast by man, must include the reprobate; but the fact that some grace, which does not issue in salvation, appears to be vouchsafed wherever the Word is preached. Still less can we accept, indeed, we must reject with abhorrence, Calvin's suggestion that such insufficient grace is given to render the disobedient the more culpable.† The Conference of Dort attempts to solve the problem by a distinction between the bare announcement of the plan of salvation (*voluntas signi*), and the application thereof (*voluntas beneplaciti*); and Turretin, in the above-cited passage, adopts its statements literally. But, even if the distinction may be allowed, we have no concern directly with the *voluntas beneplaciti*, it is beyond our sphere of knowledge. 'That will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us' (*voluntas signi*) 'in the Word of God' (Art. xvii.); and we gather from it that God does really wish the salvation of all men. We stand, in fact, in presence of one of those antinomies which we not unfrequently meet with in Scripture, and which appear insoluble to human reason. Pushed to its logical conclusion, the necessity, from the condition of fallen man, of a grace superior to common, or preparatory, grace, leads, in conjunction with the doctrine of predestination, to reprobation, at least, in its milder form of 'preterition'; pushed to its logical conclusion, the Arminian doctrine, which acknowledges no grace, but what is common, leads to Pelagianism. We await a fuller measure of revelation for an adjustment of the two lines of thought. Our wisdom, at present, is to fall back on the Apostle's treatment of the subject: 'Thou wilt say then unto me, Why doth he yet find fault, for who hath resisted his will? Nay, but, O man, who art thou that repliest

* Inst. Theol., L. xiv., Q. 2.

† Nihil absurdi est quod cœlestium donorum gustus ab Apostolo, et temporalis fides a Christo illis (reprobis) ascribitur; non quod vim spiritualis gratiæ solide percipiant, ac certum fidei lumen; sed quia Dominus, *ut magis convictos et inexcusabiles reddat*, se insinuat in eorum mentes, quatenus sine adoptionis spiritu gustari potest ejus bonitas. Inst., iii., c. 2, 11. A warning example of the danger of pushing theories to their logical conclusions.

against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? . . . How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor? (Rom. ix. 19, 20; xi. 33, 34).

Efficacious or creative grace, as the only sufficient one, excludes the notions of merit implied in the scholastic terms 'grace of congruity' and 'grace of condignity.' The former means that works done before the inspiration of Christ's Spirit may be so pleasing to God as to attract the bestowal of grace; the latter, that by the due improvement of grace given a meritorious claim to further grace is established. Art. xiii. affirms that works done in a state of nature—*i.e.*, not springing from faith in Christ—do not 'make men meet to receive grace'; they are of a different quality from the good works of the Christian.* Indeed, to hold otherwise would be Pelagianism. Grave discussion prevailed at the Council of Trent on this subject,† and the Council prudently forebore the use of the term 'de congruo' in its decrees. Indeed, there is little to find fault with in its statements on the Divine calling. 'If anyone shall assert that without the prevenient inspiration of the Holy Spirit and His assistance man can believe and repent as he ought in order to obtain the grace of justification, let him be anathema.'‡ Waiving the characteristic clause 'to obtain the grace of justification,' which points to the doctrine of inherent justifying righteousness, the Synod takes its stand on the teaching of Scripture and of the whole Church. It is in no man's power to fix the time of his own awakening; his hour must strike, and experience proves that no mere moral virtue is the condition of its striking. The last are often the first, and the first last. The mild and sensible Gamaliel never, as far as we read, was effectually called; while Zacchæus, under unexpected circumstances, received the decisive impulse (Acts v. 34; Luke xix.). And hence we learn to despair of no man, for

* It is characteristic of a certain school of theology to evacuate the distinction between works done before grace and works done by grace. 'God, the Holy Ghost, visits every soul which God has created, and each soul will be judged as it responded or did not respond to the degree of light which He bestowed on it.' . . . 'God, when He created all His rational creatures, created *them also with grace*, so that they had the full power to choose aright, and could not choose amiss except by resisting the drawing of God.' Pusey, 'What is Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?' pp. 22, 23. It is to be presumed that in the latter extract the author speaks of Adam as created, not of man as fallen. But it is going beyond Scripture to maintain, as he seems to do, that the Holy Ghost visits every soul of man, investing the dictates of natural conscience with the quality of grace.

† Sarpi, L. ii. 76.

‡ Sess. vi., Can. 3.

the operations of Divine grace follow no ascertained law, and often take us by surprise.

§ 62. *Conversion.*

Calling (*vocatio externa*) is the preliminary step to conversion, and issues therein where efficacious grace accompanies the Word. What is meant by the term 'conversion' is, as appears above, variously expressed in the Protestant Confessions. In the Apology for the Confession of Augsburg it bearest the traditional name of *pœnitentia*, but with the fundamental distinction that whereas the Church of Rome makes this to consist of three parts—contrition, confession, and satisfaction*—the Apology mentions only two—contrition and faith.† The Form. Concord. seems to identify conversion with regeneration.‡ The Helvetic Confession describes 'true penitence' as a 'sincere conversion to God, and an equally sincere aversion from all evil.'§ In fact, the terminology of the early writers on this subject is far from fixed. The word 'repentance' is insufficient as an equivalent for conversion; for sin may be repented of without being abandoned; and there may be a repentance, as in the case of Judas Iscariot, which has no element of grace in it—the sorrow of the world which worketh death' (2 Cor. vii. 10). Conversion may be described as a change of mind (*μετάνοια*, Matt. iii. 11; *ἐπιστροφή*, Acts xv. 3),|| the result of effectual calling; which change consists in sorrow for past sin, with a determination to renounce it in all its forms, faith in Christ for the forgiveness of sin, and a surrender of the heart to God to be sanctified by His grace. In its negative aspect it is a death unto sin; in its positive, a resurrection to righteousness. And all scriptural accounts of it ultimately may be reduced to this twofold division. The Romish Church, by associating one inward act (contrition) with two outward (confession and satisfaction) in conversion, confounds the inward work of the Holy Spirit with matters of ecclesiastical discipline, and produces a theory resembling Daniel's image, which was composed of gold, silver, brass, iron, and clay (Dan. ii. 32, 33).

* Contritionem, confessionem, et satisfactionem, quæ tres partes pœnitentiæ dicuntur. Conc. Trid., Sess. xiv., Can. 4. Attrition is imperfect contrition.

† Constituimus duas partes pœnitentiæ, contritionem et fidem. C. v., 18.

‡ Antequam homo per Spiritum S. illuminatur, convertitur, regeneratur, et trahitur, ex sese . . . nihil ad conversionem aut regenerationem suam inchoare, operari, aut cooperari potest. P. ii., c. 2, 24. So Quenstedt: Synonyma conversionis sunt vivificatio Ephes. ii. 5, 6; regeneratio, 1 Pet. i. 3; cordis novi creatio. P. ii., cap. 7, Thes. 9.

§ Cap. xiv.

|| Quenstedt thus defines conversion: *Conversio intransitiva (i.e., not as the work of the Spirit, but as a process in the human subject,) est actio gratiæ Spiritus S. applicatricis, in Christi merito fundata, per verbum divinum*

The state of the unconverted is described in Scripture under various aspects, which, though separable in thought, are in fact always combined. 'Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead' (Ephes. v. 14). Here the unconverted are represented as sunk in spiritual slumber, from which they have need to be aroused. They are insensible to the misery of their natural state, and to the spiritual blessings offered to them in the Gospel. The image of sleep is sometimes exchanged for that of death, as in chap. ii. of the same epistle, with a still stronger figurative meaning. Out of this condition the subject of efficacious grace is awakened or quickened, and this awakening or spiritual resurrection may be considered the first element of conversion. It must be distinguished from temporary impressions which come and go, which never become dominant, and not unfrequently, from repetition without endurance, terminate in a peculiar insensibility to spiritual appeals. Nor must it be insisted on as a regular stage to be passed through in the Christian life independently of others, and with special accompaniments of its own, such as a sense of God's wrath against sin, the terrors of future judgment, and intense spiritual conflict, to be exchanged in due course for peace and joy in believing. It has been the error of some forms of Methodism thus to attempt to mark out, with a precision which Scripture does not warrant, the successive operations of the Holy Spirit, and to demand in every instance a uniform intensity of feeling, uniformly manifested. The epoch, indeed, is a critical one in the spiritual history of the individual. It is peculiarly liable to impure admixtures, which too clearly betray their earthly origin, and are not always free from immoral tendencies. The quality of a religious awakening which assumes the form of an epidemic is open to suspicion. In many persons, particularly females, the nervous system is sensitive and liable to the contagion of religious excitement, whence the strange and sometimes repulsive incidents which occasionally occur in revivalist meetings, even when held with the best intentions. The genuine work of the Spirit, however it may pierce 'to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit' (Heb. iv. 12), is individual rather than multitudinous, acts in conjunction with free moral agency, and leads to moral results.

Any dangers or mistakes liable to arise at this stage may be

prædicatum, quæ hominem adultum (infants before the dawn of reason are incapable of it) spiritualiter mortuum, ex statu peccati in statum fidei; successive quoad actus preparatorios, in instanti vero quoad ultimum actum; vi quidem supernaturali et divina, sed resistibili, transfert: ut penitentiam agens per fidem remissionem peccatorum consequatur et salutis æternæ fiat particeps. System., P. iii., c. 7, Thes. 33.

obviated by bearing in mind another aspect of conversion, viz., spiritual illumination, which is equally a Scriptural one ('Awake, and Christ shall give thee light'), and embraces both the rational and the emotional side of human nature. The word 'darkness' is used in Scripture to signify both intellectual blindness and a depraved bias of the will; and, indeed, the former is a consequence of the latter (Rom. i. 21). Unregenerate man is represented as in darkness (Ephes. v. 8); and though Christ is the light of the world, and manifests Himself in the natural conscience (John i. 9), Christians are in a special sense children of light, and subjects of a special illumination of the Holy Spirit. In what does it consist. Those to whom the Gospel has never come are surrounded by an atmosphere of darkness which, even if they had the faculty of vision, prevents them from seeing things in their true colours and relations; and the ministration of the Word is the appointed means of placing them, so far, in a more favourable position. This, however, is little more than saying that the Holy Spirit, as a rule, makes use of external means to begin and carry on His saving work; the light of revelation removes the darkness of heathenism as a preliminary step towards individual illumination. But Scripture further represents the natural man as in darkness, in the sense of being without the faculty of spiritual vision; as in himself blind, as incapable of spiritual discernment, even if the light shone around him. 'God,' says St. Paul to the Corinthians, 'who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath' (besides this objective effect of the word) 'shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ' (2 Cor. iv. 6). If we may consider the mind (*νοῦς*) and the affections (*καρδία*) separately, both suffer from spiritual blindness; the understanding is darkened (Ephes. iv. 18), the affections no longer go forth towards their proper object; and this state continues as long as the ray from heaven cannot find an entrance. To the Jew the announcement that the crucified Jesus is the promised Messiah, and that faith in Him, without the observance of the law of Moses, avails to justification, was a stumbling-block, to the Gentile world it was 'foolishness' (1 Cor. i. 23); foolishness, because the pride of reason rebelled against a religion the first demand of which is the acceptance of mysteries which philosophy had never anticipated, and could not explain. The reception which the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, as preached by St. Paul, met with on the part of the polished Athenians is an instance in point (Acts xvii). There is in the natural understanding no connecting point between such mysteries as the incarnation, the atonement, the necessity of the new birth, and the resurrection, as there is between it and the

morality of Scripture; hence the latter gives no occasion of offence, and, indeed, is cordially accepted by many who reject the former as unworthy of belief. But so, and on the same ground, is the teaching of Confucius or Socrates admired, as far as it approximates to the standard of the Bible. As long as a sense of sin, the effect of the Holy Spirit's work in His special office of conviction (John xvi. 8) is dormant, the philosophy of the plan of salvation is not likely to be appreciated; the wisdom of the world counts it foolishness, a charge which itself anticipates and glories in. It is of little avail to remind the man of science that, whatever be the branch he cultivates, his researches pushed far enough invariably end in mystery; a fact, therefore, which may be expected to appear in the Gospel scheme also. The difference is this: Christianity not only ends but begins with the assertion of supernatural facts, builds itself upon them, transforms the duties of the moral law into Christian obedience by a constant reference to those facts, and proclaims that if they are forgotten or denied, it is robbed of its vital force and is no longer Christianity. It would be unjust, in all such cases, to ascribe this reluctance to admit the supernatural element of Christianity to the influence of a depraved will on the understanding, certain as that moral fact is; it is met with where the virtues of ordinary life are cultivated, and to an extent which some Christian believers would do well to imitate. The true cause is, as has been remarked, that the Holy Spirit's work of conviction of sin has not been experienced, or not sufficiently so; and in consequence, Christianity is not recognised as a religion of *redemption*. But darkness, in the moral sense of the word, is also ascribed in Scripture to the natural man. In this sense it means that his affections, and through them the will, are diverted from their proper object and enslaved to sin. 'The carnal mind' (*φρόνημα τῆς σαρκος*) 'is enmity against God; it is' not only 'not subject to the law of God, but neither, indeed, can be' (Rom. viii. 7). It labours under a moral impotency in respect of the spiritual life. The actings of such a life, conflict with sin, faith, love, prayer, etc., are foreign to its experience, and to its inclinations; in short it gravitates to earthly things. Whether the object that engrosses the affections is of a more refined or of a grosser character, the aversion from a life hid with Christ in God is substantially the same in every case in which spiritual illumination has not displaced the love of the world by the love of God. Moreover, this innate indisposition to spiritual things is aggravated by the terms on which alone the Gospel promises its blessings. The demand is for the whole heart; it is felt that if indeed the Son of God became incarnate and died for sin no less

is due; but against such a surrender the carnal mind rebels; compromises which aim at uniting the service of two masters are devised; and full submission only takes place when 'the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ' supplants the old affection by a new one. And this is the second feature of real conversion.

There remains yet a third: this vital change always terminates in an appropriation of Christ as Redeemer, or in other words, in justifying faith; which, therefore, the Protestant Confessions couple with repentance and a change of mind as completing the conception. Negatively, conversion is the renunciation of a past sinful life; positively, the restoration of fellowship with God. But for the sinner there is no possibility of the latter except through the mediation of Christ, and an appropriation of the promises which centre in Him. Mere convictions of sin, however profound, which stop short of this decisive step, issue either in despair, or in a return to spiritual insensibility: the strong man armed has been driven out, but because the habitation has been left empty he finds means to return. The Church of Rome likewise speaks of faith in this connexion, but the faith which it means is of a different nature from what Protestants understand by the term, and occupies a different place in the process of conversion. It is not an element of conversion itself, but an act antecedent,* and consists in a mere acceptance of the declarations of Scripture as true; in fact, it is that historical faith which may be predicated even of those fallen beings who 'believe and tremble' (James ii. 19).† Whereas faith, in the other sense, embraces, under a sense of sin, the gratuitous offer of mercy which the Gospel proposes, and is the last step in conversion, the point of transition at which the latter passes into habitual sanctification. Both in the Old and the New Testaments the application of the Divine law to the conscience, producing conviction of sin, is always accompanied with promises of mercy to the penitent. The ceremonial law spoke of atonement through shedding of blood; prophecy is full of encouragement to the repentant sinner; and the chief Expounder of the requirements of the law in its full spiritual meaning (Matt. v.-vii.) was no other than He who announced Himself as sent to seek and to save the lost. The ministration of the Word, therefore, simultaneously charges sin upon the conscience, and points out the mode of relief; and the

* In eo quem pœnitet, fides pœnitentiam antecedit necesse est; ex quo fit ut nullo modo pœnitentiæ pars recte dici possit. Cat. Rom. De Pœnit., viii.

† Disponuntur ad ipsam justitiam dum excitati divina gratia et adjuti fidem ex auditu concipientes, libere moventur in Deum, credentes vera esse quæ divinitus revelata et promissa sunt. Con. Trid., Sess. vi., c. 6.

Holy Ghost, in the process of conversion, not only awakens and enlightens the sinner, but completes the work by leading him to Christ.

It is not, of course, to be supposed that these various operations of the Holy Spirit are confined to the primary act of conversion. On the contrary they are necessary accompaniments of the Christian life from first to last. Conviction of sin, like the roots of a tree, grows downwards in proportion as the fruits of the Spirit grow upwards; spiritual illumination is a progressive work, and the Christian must always be endeavouring to understand what the will of the Lord is (Ephes. v. 17); and as to faith in Christ, it is as necessary to the maintaining as to the entering upon a justified state. But a true conversion remains, notwithstanding, the *first* occasion on which these spiritual habits are implanted in the soul.

Some subordinate points remain to be noticed. Quenstedt's definition applies, as he observes, only to adults; and, indeed, it is obvious that infants, before the dawn of reason, cannot be supposed to have a sense of sin, or to understand the Gospel message, or to exercise faith in it. In other words, infants, whether within the Church or outside of it, are incapable of conversion, in the strict sense of the word. This will be admitted; but it may be argued that those infants who have been born of Christian parents, and have received the sacrament of baptism, do not need conversion: they have only, as reason begins to act, to improve the grace given them in baptism, and they will grow up unconsciously into a state of confirmed religion, neither needing nor remembering any such spiritual change as that denoted by the word conversion. And hence the question arises—'Is conversion in all cases necessary, or not so?' We must draw a distinction between those infants who depart this life before the dawn of reason and those who become, in whatever degree, conscious moral agents. The former are incapable of conversion; and we may presume that they do not need it in order to be saved. In truth, we know little or nothing respecting their spiritual condition, and Scripture does not come to our assistance. If, born of Christian parents and in the bosom of a Christian Church, they receive baptism as a 'charitable work,' pleasing to Christ, we trust He hears our prayers on their behalf and takes them into His gracious keeping; we have no doubt that, if removed before a corrupt nature can act, they are safe in the bosom of their Father and their God. But beyond this it is not safe to advance. We know not what kind or amount of grace is given to them in baptism, or whether the terms regeneration or justification, according to the meaning they bear in Scripture, are

applicable to this exceptional case. We may suppose that something *analogous* to what these terms express takes place in every child of Adam before he is admitted to the kingdom of heaven : but positive statements on the subject are out of place. And this because it *is* an exceptional case ; the subject labours under a natural incapacity to fulfil the conditions which Scripture demands in the normal case of adult baptism, a circumstance which by no means compels us to question the propriety of infant baptism, but which does seem to recommend the language of faith and charity, in preference to that of dogmatic assertion, respecting its effects. But if the infant arrives at an age when he can be brought, to whatever extent, under religious instruction ; when the conscience can be appealed to, and a choice between right and wrong can be made—we must hold that conversion, or something equivalent to it, is necessary even in those who have been dedicated to Christ in baptism. The privileges which such an infant enjoys correspond to the external calling of the Word in the case of an adult. And the need of a distinct act of obedience to the summons is plain enough in the sinful passions, the frivolity and indifference to religion, which, as a rule, mark our earliest years. To argue that apart from these appeals, baptismal grace will of itself become active, will, in fact, improve itself ; or that it can be improved in any other way than by the presentation to the infant mind, as it is capable thereof, of the truths of the Gospel ; would be to ascribe a magical effect to the ordinance to which Scripture gives no countenance. Whatever notion we may form of baptismal grace—if it be a seed it requires watering, if it be a germ of faith (as Calvin and others have held) it must have the objects of faith in due time presented to it—the grace, apart from other means of grace, will not of itself grow up into even the most elementary apprehension of the Gospel, or of Him to whom the Gospel bears witness. ‘It is your parts and duties to see that this infant be taught, so soon as he shall be able to learn, what a solemn vow, promise and profession he hath here made by you. And that he may know these things the better, ye shall call upon him to hear sermons, etc.’ (Bapt. Serv.). That is, he must be approached as an adult candidate for baptism would be, in the way of moral suasion, only adapted to the immaturity of the subject. The meaning of baptism must be explained to him, and this cannot be done without at the same time instructing him in the fundamental truths of the Gospel, and especially those connected with the ministration of the Holy Spirit. Somehow or other he must be called upon to repent and believe on Christ, if his baptism, or the grace conveyed in it, is to be beneficial. But here we pass from the

region of sacramental grace into that of the ministration of the Word, with which conversion is specially connected ; the religious instruction, on the presumption of which the infant was baptized, taking the place of the preaching of the Word to adults, whether in missions or at home. The only difference is that in the case of an adult candidate for baptism, his conversion precedes the Sacrament, while in the case of the baptized infant it follows it. Such infant conversion may differ much in circumstantialia from that of an adult ; it may be marked by no great sense of sin ; the notions entertained of religion may be as infantile as the subject who entertains them ; the struggle between the flesh and the Spirit may be so faint as to be hardly perceptible to the inner man. But these do not affect the essence of conversion, which consists in an individual summons and an individual response. And if the analysis be carried far enough, it will be found, even in the most immature forms of religious life, that some such transaction must have taken place between the soul and God, and that where the response has been favourable it is owing to efficacious as distinguished from preparatory grace. The conclusion is that, extraordinary cases being set aside, conversion, in its substance, is universally necessary. In the case we have been considering it may be regarded as the inward aspect or side of confirmation ; it supplies the condition which was wanting to make the baptism a complete one. Confirmation is a public assurance to the Church that the imperfection of infant baptism is made good, and that no hindrance now exists to full admission to Christian privileges.

Another remark of Quenstedt's is, that the 'ultimate act' in conversion is instantaneous (*in instanti, quoad ultimum actum*). And, indeed, we cannot think of it otherwise. To regard it as a gradual process would be to confound it either with sanctification or with the preparatory work of grace which leads up to it. The turning from sin and the turning to God may be distinguished in thought, but, in fact, there can be no middle, neutral ground between a state of grace and its opposite ; light and darkness cannot co-exist.* This will appear more plainly if we remember that conversion is regeneration itself, in its inward or essential aspect ; regeneration in the sight of God, though not as yet visibly sealed by admission to the Church.† But regeneration does not admit

* Probe distinguenda præparatio ab ipsa ex statu iræ in statum gratiæ translatione. Præparatio habet suos gradus, et fit successive ; ipsa vero ex statu iræ in statum gratiæ translatio fit in instanti et in momento, cum impossibile sit ut subjectum aliquod vel per momentum sit simul in statu iræ et in statu gratiæ, simul sub vita et sub morte. Quenstedt, P. ii., c. 7, § 1, Thes. 22.

† Regeneratio conversionis synonymum est, quatenus illa est adultorum, et per verbum fit. *Ibid.*, Thes. 9.

either of degrees or of successive acts. The analogy of natural birth is to the point. Previously to the birth, for a considerable time, a hidden life goes on in the womb; but the birth itself is momentary, or comparatively so. And such must be the new birth by the Holy Spirit. A distinction, however, may be drawn between the fact and the consciousness of it. From the former's being instantaneous it does not follow that the subject of the change may be able to fix the precise moment of the passing of preparatory into creative grace; indeed, the natural analogy is against such an assumption. For no one is conscious, at the time of his birth, of the fact, or can afterwards remember anything about it. In due season he knows that he must have been born; but he knows it only by the activity of the vital functions, and the circumstances with which he is surrounded. When Charles Wesley, therefore, tells us that his conversion took place in Aldersgate Street, on a certain day, at a quarter before nine o'clock, in the month of May, 1739,* it would, indeed, be unphilosophical to assert that such an alleged fact is impossible, and improper to make it a subject of ridicule; but we may certainly ask whether it is likely that any one, under such a profound agitation of mind as that here pre-supposed, could have noted the moment so exactly. According to the old distinction, which in the main is correct, grace is 'preveniens, operans, et co-operans'; prevenient grace, comprising the external means which the Holy Spirit employs, such as the Word and other means of grace; operative, the internal agency (awakening, enlightening, etc.) which issues in conversion; co-operative, that which accompanies the Christian to the end, and assists him in the work of sanctification. An attempt to analyze too minutely the complex state of mind which belongs to the second head is likely to fail, and to lead either to unnecessary distress of mind or to delusions more dangerous. Scripture contains instances of sudden conversion, such as that of Saul, and of the gaoler of Philippi; and the time and circumstances must have been indelibly impressed on the memory of these converts. The subject of such a change must, in the language of Paley, 'both be sensible of it at the time, and remember it all his life afterwards. It is too momentous an event ever to be forgot. A man might as easily forget his escape from a shipwreck.'† But in such cases as that of Lydia, whose

* Southey, 'Life of Wesley.'

† Serm. vii. 'Immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales' (Acts ix. 18); an emblem of the inward light which shone into his heart as the Sun of Righteousness revealed himself. 'The Sabbath evening following, July 12, 1739, I was walking in the same solitary place, and here, in a mournful, melancholy state, was attempting to pray: when unspeakable glory seemed to open to the view and apprehension of my soul, which rejoiced with joy unspeakable, etc.' Brainerd's Life, by J. Edwards, p. 15. There is no

heart the Lord opened to attend to the preaching of St. Paul, or Timothy, who from a child had known the Holy Scriptures, it would have been more difficult to fix the hour of their conversion; and the investigation could lead to no beneficial results. All were conspicuous examples of Divine grace; all bore fruit worthy of repentance. Even in the two former instances it is impossible to say that a prevenient work of grace had not occurred. The very bitterness of Saul's hostility to the Church seems evidence that his conscience was ill at ease as he journeyed to Damascus; and the gaoler had probably become acquainted with the missionary labours of Paul and Silas at Philippi. To determine empirically the moment of conversion, or to distinguish accurately between the several stages which lead to it, is beyond our power; so great is the variety of circumstances in each case, such as age, previous history, and particularly the greater or less duration of the preliminary work of the Holy Spirit. Some surrender to His gracious influences at once, others after a lengthened period of hesitation, or even resistance. 'The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, or whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit' (John iii. 8). The present is what we have to deal with, and the true test is progressive sanctification. There can be no true sanctification without an assurance of a changed relation towards God, whereby we cry, 'Abba, Father' (Gal. iv. 6); and sanctification is the putting on of the mind of Christ, in its various particulars. Those who can entertain a reasonable hope that such is their present spiritual state may also conclude—however different their experience may have been from that of others—that they have been brought out of darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God (Acts xxvi. 18).

JUSTIFICATION.

Fallen man, in order to his spiritual restoration, needs not only a liberation of will from the thralldom of sin and a change of heart, but also a change of relation towards God as a righteous Lawgiver. The first symptom of an awakened conscience is a sense of guilt; but, as we have seen, conversion involves or terminates in acceptance, through faith, of the promises of mercy, founded on the work of Christ, and offered in the ministration of the Word; and this acceptance issues in a justified state, a state in which the guilt of sin, past and present, is remitted. 'Whom

reason to question the reality of such visitations: the danger arises when they are made a necessary constituent in conversion, or become the shibboleth of a sect or party.

He called, them He also justified' (Rom. viii. 30); a connection simultaneous in fact, but separable in thought. Here, then, arises a class of questions of a distinctive character. What is the meaning of justification? What office does faith discharge in connection with it? Of what nature is justifying faith? Questions which formed a prominent topic of controversy in the Apostolic age, then for centuries passed into comparative oblivion, and at the Reformation once more asserted their paramount importance, and lay at the root of the separation of the Protestant churches from the communion of Rome.

Our Article on the subject (xi.) contains no definition of justification, merely declaring that 'we are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith'; a statement which, if the clause 'by faith' were allowed to be variously understood, might be accepted by all Christian Churches. Nor is the Augsburg Confession—after which our own formulary was, on this point, evidently framed—much more explicit: 'We teach that men are justified before God, not by their own works or deservings, but for Christ's sake through faith; which faith God imputes to them for righteousness' (Art. iv.). The Protestant theologians of the next century, especially the Lutheran, enter more into detail. Quenstedt's definition is: 'Justification is an act of the Holy Trinity *ad extra*' (i.e., common to all three Persons); 'forensic in nature; of mere grace; by which, on account of Christ's merits, the sinner is gratuitously pardoned and counted righteous; to the praise of the Divine mercy, and the salvation of those who are justified.* The causes of justification these theologians describe as follows: the efficient cause, the Triune God; the impelling (internal), the gratuitous mercy of God; the impelling (external), the meritorious active and passive obedience of Christ; the secondary impelling (*minus principalis*) faith in Christ; the formal cause, remission of sin, which involves the imputation of Christ's righteousness.† Sometimes the formal cause is described as faith, by which is to be understood a faith apprehensive of the merits of Christ. It will be seen hereafter that remission of sin, or the imputation of Christ's merits, and an operative faith, are really two aspects, or sides, of the one formal cause, so far as the category of formal causes is applicable

* De Justif., § 1, Thes. 22. So Hollaz, P. iii., § 1, c. 8; except that he adds the condition: *Peccatori converso et renato*. Comp. Baier, De Justif., § 15. And Calvin: *Nos justificationem simpliciter interpretamur acceptionem, quâ nos Deus in gratiam receptos pro justis habet. Eamque in remissione peccatorum ac justitiæ Christi imputatione positam esse dicimus.* Inst., iii., c. 11.

† J. Gerh., L. xvii., § 199. Baier, P. iii., c. 5, § 11.

to justification. By many writers—*e.g.*, J. Gerhard (Loc. xvii., § 64)—faith is termed the ‘instrumental’ cause, or the instrument of justification, the *means* by which the gift passes to the receiver ; and such, indeed, is the common mode of speaking on the subject. But it may be doubted whether it is an accurate one. Faith is a state of mind, and a passive not an active one ; properly speaking, we do not exercise acts of faith, nor receive a gift by faith, but, a promise being conveyed to us of some benefit which we desire, we by faith receive the promise, and if conditions are attached to the fulfilment of it, faith impels us to endeavour to perform the conditions, and there its office ends. The fulfilment of the conditions might more properly be termed the instrument. For example, if a benevolent person offers a specific remedy for an epidemic on the simple condition that application be made for it, faith, considered in itself, is reliance on the efficacy of the remedy, and the goodwill and veracity of the offerer ; and the same faith prompts the sufferer to apply for the remedy ; but, strictly speaking, it is this latter act, and not the faith from which it sprang, that possesses an instrumental character. Faith has been compared to the hand of the mendicant stretched forth to receive alms : no doubt it furnishes the impulse to the act ; but the act itself of stretching forth the hand is the means whereby the gift is appropriated. The news of salvation through Christ is promulgated generally through the Word, and a promise is appended, that whosoever applies shall receive the blessing gratuitously ; application in this case means prayer for mercy through Christ ; prayer presupposes faith, but itself corresponds directly to the stretched-forth hand of the mendicant, as the instrument of securing salvation. In a looser mode of expression, however, we may say that faith, comprising *what it leads to*, is the instrumental cause. But it is better, with Baier, to make faith—of course, an operative faith—the moving cause (*causa impulsiva*, in an inferior sense, as compared with the meritorious work of Christ, which is the *causa impulsiva principalis*) of God’s pronouncing a person absolved from sin ; by which is meant that a believing state of mind, leading to action, is what God looks at in the sinner as inducing Him (so to speak) to pronounce a sentence of acquittal ; not, however, from any merit inherent in this state of mind, but because of the *object* which by faith it apprehends, *viz.*, Christ and His work. It deserves remark that the term justification may mean either the act of God in declaring the believer righteous (justification in an active sense), or a justified state, the state of the pardoned sinner (justification in a passive sense) ; and the two senses must be kept distinct, otherwise confusion of thought may arise. It is obvious that the

'causes' of justification above enumerated belong, with the exception of the fourth, to the former head.

The Council of Trent, to some extent, covers the same field with the Protestant Confessions and theologians. The final cause of justification it declares to be the glory of God and life eternal; the efficient, the gratuitous mercy of God; the meritorious, our Lord Jesus Christ. At this point, however, the divergence between it and the Protestant formularies appears. The instrumental cause is the sacrament of baptism; and 'the only formal cause is the righteousness of God, not that by which He is righteous, but that by which He makes us righteous, that, namely, by which we are renewed in the spirit of our minds, the love of God being' (in the act of justification) 'shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost' (Rom. v. 5).*

§ 63. Etymology.

It is admitted, on all sides, that justification, in its active signification, is a gift of God; but whether the gift is of a declaratory or a creative nature is matter of debate. The Protestant Confessions adopt the former view, the Romish the latter; at least, that is the tendency of each. The testimony of Scripture leaves little doubt on the subject. Nothing adduced on the other side has invalidated the etymological argument in favour of the forensic meaning of the word, as set forth in the works of Chemnitz, J. Gerhard, and their successors. The Hebrew verb פָּלַץ signifies in Kal either to be righteous or to be declared so (Gen. xxxviii. 26; Job ix. 2); in Pihel, to make righteous (in ecclesiastical Latin, *justificare*, Ezek. xvi. 51), and occasionally to declare righteous (Job xxxiii. 32); and in Hiphil, almost always to acquit forensically (Ex. xxiii. 7).† The LXX. Version renders the verb in Hiphil, with few exceptions, by the Greek verb $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\acute{o}\omega$; with the meaning of which we are at present chiefly concerned. In classical Greek this verb bears two principal senses: to pronounce a thing, or a course of action proper,‡ and to visit judicially.§ It does not appear that any instance occurs in classical writers of its signifying to make righteous, in the sense of infusing a quality, as heat is communicated to iron by the agency of fire. But, as Chemnitz remarks,|| the question is, not in what secondary senses the word may occasionally be

* Sess. vi., c. 7. To the same effect, justification is described as 'non solum peccatorum remissio, sed et sanctificatio, et renovatio interioris hominis.' *Ibid.*

† See Gesenius, s. v.

‡ ὅποι ποτὲ θεὸς δικάσι. Soph., Phil., 780.

§ ἡμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον δικάωσθε. Thuc., iii. 40.

|| Exam., Art. ii., § 6.

employed, but how the sacred writers use it when they expressly discuss the topic of justification. The nearest approach to a formal treatment of the subject is to be found in the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans and Galatians, to which we may confine ourselves. All men, according to the Apostle, are—on account of their connection with Adam and their actual transgressions—subject to the condemnation of the law, its judicial sentence against sin (Rom. v. 18); but, through faith in Christ, they are justified, *i.e.*, the curse is removed (*Ibid.*, iii. 24); in the sense in which ‘the many were made sinners’ by one man’s disobedience. in the same ‘by the obedience of one shall the many be made righteous’ (v. 19). Apart from the context, this latter passage might refer either to the imputation of guilt, or to the propagation of a corrupt nature through Adam’s fall, or to both together, the one as the consequence of the other; whence, as Bellarmine argues, the righteousness due to the obedience of Christ might be understood as comprising both imputed and inherent. But the context determines the sense of it. If death is the wages of sin, the prevalence of death ‘over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam’s transgression’ (v. 14), either by disobedience to a positive command, or (as in the case of infants) by any personal sin at all, proves, the Apostle argues, that the whole of mankind was, in some mysterious manner, involved in the *guilt* of Adam’s sin; in consequence of which ‘judgment came upon all men to *condemnation*’ (v. 18), not to the corruption of human nature, of which the Apostle is not speaking. In like manner, by the obedience of One, those who had been adjudged guilty sinners may, if they receive the free gift, be absolved from all their offences. Condemnation on God’s part is a different thing from the transmission of an hereditary taint in our nature; and so the ‘righteousness of God,’ or God’s method of justification, is a different thing from the infusion of inherent righteousness. The examples which St. Paul cites from the Old Testament lead to the same conclusion. Abraham believed God, and his faith was set to his account (*ἐλογίσθη*) for righteousness; he was accounted, not made, righteous (iv. 5). And, as if to leave no doubt respecting his meaning, he refers to Psa. 32: ‘Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works, blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven and whose sin is covered; blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin.’ The justified man, then, is one whose sins are forgiven or covered from the eye of God; to whom righteousness is imputed, not who is made righteous or sanctified. He is one whose *accusers* are silenced. ‘Who shall lay anything to the charge of God’s elect? Who is

he that condemneth? Not God, who justifies them, pronounces judgment in their favour; and if He be for them, who can be against them? (Rom. viii. 33, 34). Precisely in the same sense is the word used in the parable of the Pharisee and the publican: 'This man went down to his house justified or forgiven (*δεδικαιωμένος*) rather than the other' (Luke xviii. 14). Even St. James, who, in the opinion of some, intended to modify or explain his brother-Apostle's statements, adheres strictly to the *meaning of the word* as it is used by the latter. Abraham's faith 'wrought with his works' proved itself to be a justifying faith by its fruits; but his justification, according to St. James himself, consisted not in the infusion of a quality, but in an imputation; for the very same passage is cited by him which St. Paul employs: 'Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness' (Jas. ii. 23). It has been well observed that, as regards past sins at any rate, justification is incapable of any other sense than a judicial acquittal. For what is done cannot be undone; the sin is past, but the guilt remains. The only relief which the case admits of is that it should not be imputed to the offender. But if this is the necessary character which justification bears in reference to past sin, why should it assume a different one in reference to present sin? To which we may add that the distinction between past and present does not apply to God. 'He must be almost blind,' says Bishop Bull, 'who does not perceive that this (the forensic) sense of the term is the predominant one in Scripture, and especially in the New Testament;† whose judgment seems entirely consistent with fact.

But, it is alleged, admitting that justification as the act of God is a declaration, we must bear in mind the potency which Scripture ascribes to the Word of God as such. If it begins as a word, it ends as a fact. 'The voice of the Lord is powerful; the voice of the Lord is full of majesty.' He said, 'Let there be light, and there was light;' 'He spake, and it was done; He commanded, and it stood fast.' What man does by an effort and with difficulty, and by the use of means, God does by the simple fiat of His Word. When, therefore, He declares a person righteous, He makes him so; so that justification and renewal are not merely inseparable in fact, but the effect of the same Divine operation; the Word declaring is the Word making. Justification, therefore, may properly be considered and called renewal.‡ The reasoning, however, is not valid. The Word or voice of the Lord no doubt effects what it intends to effect in each particular utterance of it; but there may be a variety of occasions, each with

* See Newman, *Justif.*, Lect. iii.

† Harm. Apost., c. i.

‡ Newman, *Lect.* iii.

its specific object, on which it exercises its power, and it does not follow that because the instrument is the same, the object is so also. When by the word of creative power He called the world out of chaos, the effect followed—viz., the appearance of the world out of chaos, because this was the specific object in view; but that same Word of God did not produce light. To remove the darkness which brooded over the earth a second Word was employed. God spake again and said, 'Let there be light,' and a specific effect followed—'there was light.' And so throughout the whole of creation separate acts of the Word produced distinct effects, and yet the instrument was the same in all. To apply this to justification. As an act of God it is a pronouncing the sinner righteous, a declaration that his sin, past and present, is remitted or forgiven. That is the specific object of this particular utterance of the Word of God, and it never fails to pass into deed; the sinner is forgiven, or counted righteous, or justified. How he is assured of the fact is another question (see next §). But the Divine act, consisting of declaration and deed, terminates, as far as justification is concerned, with itself, and produces, as the voice of God, no further spiritual effect. God may, and does, intend also to sanctify the believer, to make him as well as count him righteous, but not in the special act of justifying him. To count righteous and to make righteous are clearly distinct ideas—as distinct as calling the world out of chaos and creating light; and we can no more argue that the declaration and the renewal take place *simultaneously* and by virtue of the *same* Divine Word than we can say that the creation of the world and the creation of light were simultaneous, and proceeded from the *same* coming forth of the voice of God; that is, we cannot say it merely because the Word is represented in Scripture as creative. Of course, the whole of this mode of speaking is anthropomorphic. We cannot attribute succession to the acts of God; we know nothing really of the relation between His Word and the act following; but when an argument is founded on the anthropomorphism of Scripture, it is properly met by a similar appeal thereto; and the analysis of Scripture language concerning the Divine Being, if it is not to mislead, must take in the whole, and not a part only, of the language. Scripture treats the matter of justification according to the analogy of human tribunals, and everyone can understand that the judicial acquittal of an accused person is neither identical with making him virtuous, nor necessarily issues in that result. So the active justification of God does not necessarily go further than itself—not necessarily as far as arguments can be drawn from the usage of terms. It may be that, in fact, there is an inseparable connection between

justification and renewal, that no one can be justified without being sanctified ; but the connection may not be founded on what Scripture says respecting the Word of God. The fallacy lies in the ambiguous sense attached to the expression, 'calling a person righteous,' making it to mean either judicially declaring him righteous, or calling him righteous with the intent of making him so, and combining the two senses in the matter of justification without warrant or necessity. The Word of God may be operative to one purpose, and yet not be intended to operate to another of a different character ; and no argument can be founded on the mere fact that in either case it is the Word of God to which the effect is assigned, since separate acts of the Divine will are represented in Scripture as necessary to produce distinct results. The fallacy is akin to that into which Möhler, and Bossuet before him, fall in attempting to evade the etymological argument. 'Nothing,' the former says, 'has contributed more to erroneous views of the nature of justification than want of acquaintance with the forms of thought and expression of the ancient world. Ancient writers are wont to employ the outward figure for the inward reality, because thus only can the latter clothe itself in an intelligible form. When, therefore, under the old covenant' (and surely he might have added, 'in the New Testament'), 'justification is described by terms derived from a human judicial process—that is, as a mere forensic acquittal—it is the greatest mistake, and a proof of ignorance of ancient modes of thinking, to suppose that this does not connote an inward deliverance from the power of sin.' And then, referring to Gerhard's remark (*Loc. xvii.*, § 6), that justification is described in Scripture under a variety of terms borrowed from the processes of judicature, he adds : 'The very multiplicity of such expressions should have raised a surmise that they, in part at least, must be understood figuratively.*' That both in the Old and the New Testament the Divine act of justification is described by analogical terms borrowed from the proceedings of human tribunals is true, and, so far as analogy partakes of a figurative element, the description is figurative. But the reality intended must correspond to the figure employed, not to a different one. Now, a judicial process is a different thing from the infusion of a quality. By analogy the base of a mountain is described as its foot. Let the figure be removed, and it is still the base, or lowest part of the

* Symbolik, § 13. So Bossuet : 'Comme l'Ecriture nous explique la remission des péchés, tantôt en disant que Dieu les couvre, et tantôt en disant qu'il les ôte, et qu'il les efface par la grace du Saint-Esprit, qui nous fait des nouvelles creatures ; nous croyons qu'il faut joindre ensemble ces expressions pour former l'idée parfaite de la justification du pécheur' (*Exp.*, c. vi.).

mountain that is meant, not the top, or the middle, or the interior of it. Under the analogical description of justification in Scripture there must be a special thing intended, and that thing must be the reality which the analogy describes figuratively; that is, what must be signified is the *divine* act, which corresponds to the human—viz., the divine act of absolution. But Möhler, like the Council of Trent, makes one figure represent two different, however inseparable, things—pardon and renewal, deliverance from the power of sin, as well as from its guilt; which is the same as maintaining that the foot of a mountain may signify both its lowest part and its middle. Justification, the Council declares,* consists *both* of remission of sin and internal renovation. And such is the definition of the Schoolmen, founded not on the Greek original, but on the word ‘justificare,’ as used by the Latin Fathers, who render it ‘making just,’ as ‘calefacere’ means making hot. ‘Justification,’ says Thomas Aquinas, ‘is a movement towards righteousness, as heating is a movement towards heat;† that is, it is inherent righteousness (as heat is inherent in the metal) as well as remission of sin; and this it is which constitutes the fundamental distinction between the Romish and the Protestant doctrine on the subject.

§ 64. *Witness of the Spirit.*

Justification, we have seen, is a declaratory act on the part of God; but how does He make known His judgment of acquittal? It is not enough to say, in reply, that in the Gospel the promise of forgiveness is made generally to all who believe in Christ, and therefore (by implication) to each individual believer; for this holds good in respect to those who are mere hearers of the word, and never advance beyond the privilege of external vocation; who, therefore, are not really justified at all. Nor can the sanctification of those who are justified, whether it be inward or outward, decide the point, for it is at best imperfect, and not adequate to the demands of the Divine law (see § 65). Justification is a making over to the individual a share in the general

* Sess. vi., c. 7.

† Justification, he means, *passive accepta* (the state of being justified). Prim. Secund., Q. cxiii., A. 1. ‘Justificatio importat transmutationem quandam de statu injustitiæ ad statum justitiæ prædictæ’ (*Ibid.*). This definition might stand, but for the word *prædictæ*, which refers to a previous statement; viz., that the *justitia* in question ‘importat rectitudinem quandam ordinis in ipsa interiori dispositione hominis.’ J. Gerhard remarks that since justification does not import a physical change, but a change of relation, no comparison can be drawn between it and *calefactio*, *dealbatio*, etc.; and this, even if *δικαιόω* could be rendered by *justifico* in the sense of making righteous (Loc. xvii., § 14).

atonement which Christ has made for the sin of the world ; and how is the individual to be assured that such appropriation has taken place ? An application for baptism is an assurance to the church that, so far as profession is a test, justification in the sight of God has already taken place ; but baptism cannot convey to the candidate himself any satisfaction on the point, unless, indeed, we suppose the sacrament to be accompanied with a sensible inward effect, leaving no room for doubt. It may, perhaps, be argued, as, in fact, the Romish schools do, that such an assurance is not intended ; that the normal state of the Christian is to be in doubt whether he has passed from a state of condemnation to one of acceptance ; that it would not be beneficial to him to emerge out of this uncertainty ; that, especially after baptism, he can expect no formal acquittal until that of the day of judgment. Unquestionably, any such inward assurance tends to independence of the visible Church and its ordinances, as the appointed channels of salvation ; though it would be unjust to insinuate that a suspicion of this kind is at the root of the Romish teaching on this subject. Suffice it to say, that the uncertainty finds no countenance in Scripture. No doubt ever seems to cross St. Paul's mind whether he is a child of God and an heir of salvation. He inculcates upon himself and others the duties of prayer and watchfulness, of working out their salvation with fear and trembling ; but never of harbouring doubt respecting their new relation towards God : ' Know ye not your own selves how that Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates ? ' (2 Cor. xiii. 5). The question, then, recurs, how is the declaration of justification on God's part conveyed to the repentant and believing sinner ?

It must be admitted that the Protestant doctrine, as often stated, is incomplete as regards this point. It insists so strongly on the forensic aspect of justification, or, rather, so exclusively, as to lose sight of the fact that this gift of God passes on to become subjective, or a matter of consciousness. Moehler charges it on Protestants that their conception of justification is too external, while their conception of the Church is too inward ;* the righteousness of Christ is only imputed, and never becomes imparted ; He casts His shadow over the believer, but leaves him unrighteous ; while to define the Church as, in its idea, ' the blessed company of all faithful people,' and so far invisible, is too inward a view of it. With respect to the former topic, it is sufficient to observe that the appropriation of the Gospel-promise by faith—a faith which springs from conviction of sin and apprehends Christ as Redeemer—imparts, to say the least, as inward a character to justification as an appropriation of Christ

* Symbolik, § 13.

by baptism does, which sacrament, according to the Council of Trent, is the instrument of justification. But this is not the real reply to the objection. The real reply is that God, in justifying the sinner, not only anticipates the final judgment by some act in the Divine mind of a forensic character, but conveys inwardly a pledge thereof by the Spirit of adoption which He communicates; whereby the consciousness of guilt is removed, a filial spirit takes its place, and the believer is enabled to cry, 'Abba, Father' (Rom. viii. 15, 16; Gal. iv. 6).

The offices of the Holy Spirit in the Church, especially the one just named, have never occupied a place in Protestant theology corresponding to that which is assigned to them in Scripture. The reason is not far to seek. The great controversies of the Reformation turned on two main topics—the offices of Christ as Redeemer, and the sacraments; and although that of the Holy Spirit and His work was never quite overlooked, as indeed it could not be in any system of Christian doctrine, it cannot be said to have received the attention which it deserves. Previously to Owen's great work, it would be difficult to name one which takes a comprehensive view of the subject. In our own Church particularly, the type of theology which prevailed in the last century and the early part of this was adverse to the doctrine of spiritual influence; which, moreover, owing to the reaction from the Puritanism of the seventeenth century, and the extravagances sometimes exhibited by the followers of John Wesley, came to be regarded with suspicion by persons of whose piety there can be no doubt. When the witness of the Holy Spirit in the Christian's heart, as St. Paul describes it, became associated with bodily convulsions, outcries, or a bitter sectarian spirit, it is no wonder that the subject was considered a dangerous one to meddle with, and that expositors who came across it in their labours did their best to explain away the plain meaning of Scripture. This meaning is indeed plain. It is the great privilege of the Gospel dispensation, the fruit of Christ's atonement and His ascension, that the third Person of the Holy Trinity takes the very place, but in a more efficacious manner, which Christ would occupy if He were upon the earth; He is not only the teacher, but the Comforter of the Church. And if Christ were upon earth, and any sinner approached Him in faith—the same faith in essence, though with clearer promises to rely upon, which prompted the applicants in the Gospel to come to Him for relief under the bodily ailments of themselves or their friends—would He not at once have calmed the fears of the suppliant with the assurance, 'Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee' (Matt. ix. 2)? This assurance the Holy Ghost, His Divine

Vicar, conveys in the act of justification. 'He bears witness with our spirit,' making use of it as the medium of His communications, 'that we are the children of God' (Rom. viii. 16); He sends forth 'the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father,' the Holy Spirit, as it were, identifying Himself with the Christian's own spirit in this new relation (Gal. iv. 6); 'in whom,' says St. Paul to the Ephesians, 'ye were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance,' and he warns them not to 'grieve the Holy Spirit of God, whereby' they were 'sealed unto the day of redemption' (Ephes. i. 13; iv. 30); 'the love of God,' he declares, 'is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us' (Rom. v. 5). This last passage is particularly deserving of attention, for from Augustine downwards through the Middle Ages to our own times it has been interpreted of the love which the believer has towards God, and made to support the scholastic theory of an inherent justifying righteousness. Whereas the context proves that not the Christian's love towards God, but God's love towards him—God's adopting love—is what is intended by the Apostle;* 'God's acceptance of us, for Christ's sake, is made known to us by the inward testimony of the Holy Spirit.' And this explains Rom. iv. 25: 'Who was delivered up' (to death) 'for our sins, but was raised for our justification.' By the death of Christ general forgiveness of sin (*secundum potentiam*) was effected; but by His resurrection (the step to His ascension) the gift of the Holy Ghost was bestowed, whose office it is to convey to the individual believer the assurance of justification. Compare Rom. viii. 34: 'It is Christ that died, yea, rather, that is risen again, Who also maketh intercession for us;' one subject of that intercession being that the Holy Ghost may bear witness with our spirit that we are children of God. Now it is to be observed that this is not directly renewal or sanctification, but the root and foundation thereof. The same Holy Spirit, indeed, who thus seals the faith of the Christian by His witness, renews at the same time the heart; but in the order of nature the latter follows the former. For there can be no love to God—that is, no true sanctification—without an assurance that on account of Christ's work and a reliance on that work God is reconciled to us; and that assurance is the gift of the Holy Ghost, antecedent, in the order of ideas, and necessarily so, to the fruits of faith in holy dispositions and a holy life. Something must be first in the order of

* 'According to the Pelagian-rationalistic interpretation, which is adverse to spiritual influence, the love of man to God is here meant; according to the mind of the Apostle, God's love to man' (Olshausen, *in loc.*). 'That this love is not the love of man to God, but the love of God to the redeemed is proved by verse 8' (Tholuck, *in loc.*). 'Amor *εἰς* ἡμᾶς erga nos' (Bengel, *in loc.*). Comp. De Wette, Kgf. Handbuch, *in loc.*

ideas, and this inward testimony is the first thing—the foundation on which all subsequent sanctification proceeds.

This is the point to which many Protestant writers, even Luther himself, even the Confessions, do not give sufficient prominence, thereby laying themselves open to the charge that their doctrine of justification makes it an imputation without a reality, a shell without a kernel, a declaration without a corresponding effect, an external covering leaving the nature beneath unsanctified. The multiplicity of Scripture expressions describing justification as a judicial process they rightly insist upon as a proof that it cannot and does not mean in itself renewal; but they fail to see that the analogy does not hold good in all respects. It is the duty of a human judge to condemn or acquit an accused person irrespectively of any private sentiment either of esteem or aversion towards the person; whether the latter be a friend or an enemy, a relative or a stranger, are questions with which the judge, as such, has nothing to do; he has merely to investigate whether the law has or has not been broken, and to decide accordingly. But God, in the salvation of the sinner, does not stand towards him merely in the relation of a judge. His aim is to recover the sinner from his state of death in trespasses and sins, to make peace between Himself and the offender, to establish a filial relation instead of one of enmity. Such a change cannot be effected without the preliminary operation of the Holy Spirit in producing conviction of sin and a sense of guilt, and this if not removed would be an impassable barrier against perfect reconciliation. Judicially, therefore, God in His Word announces that He can be just and yet the justifier of him that believeth, and this on the ground that an atonement for sin has been made by One who could make it; but He does more than this: He reveals Himself inwardly to the penitent sinner as the merciful Father, as the Redeemer, as the Sanctifier; He sheds abroad His redeeming love in the heart. He acquits, indeed, but not to leave the person absolved in a state of indifference towards his Judge, but to fill him with joy and peace in believing; justification becomes inward as well as outward; the declaration of forgiveness is not a mere movement of the Divine mind ending there, and intransitive; external to us and remaining so; it is conveyed to the spirit of man by the witness of the Holy Spirit. ‘Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee. . . . Bring forth the best robe and put it on him, and put a ring on his hand and shoes on his feet, for this my son was dead and is alive again, he was lost and is found.’

§ 65. *Formal Cause.*

Both in philosophy and in theology the doctrine of formal causes has given rise to controversy. The formal cause of a thing is usually understood to be that which makes it what it is, that which immediately gives occasion to a definition or description of it. Thus a rational soul is said to give *form* to a man, because it is that which makes him a human being, as compared with the brute creation, so that we can define him as a rational animal; rationality, therefore, is here the formal cause. So in animals, the animal soul is the form of any given animal, that which distinguishes it from a stone or vegetable, and completes the idea of it. In such instances the formal cause bears an analogy to the 'specific difference' of logic; with this distinction, however, that in the logical definition 'man is a rational animal,' the term man is an abstraction and has no reality corresponding to it, whereas a formal cause presupposes an actual subject in which it inheres. The term may also be used of the accidents of a thing. Thus, of a whitened wall whiteness, which is but an accident, is the formal cause, and heat of a piece of hot iron. Moreover, when what is predicated assumes the passive form, it may either denote or not an inherent quality. Thus in a whitened wall whiteness inheres; but a man may be said to be loved, honoured, condemned, or acquitted, without any intrinsic quality in him deserving love, honour, condemnation, or absolution. It is sufficient if he is so regarded by another. There must be some reason why he should be so, but the reason may not be in himself. In such a case, the term formal cause, if employed, has an extended application; it belongs to a relation not to a thing, and resides in an extrinsic source. It is a quasi-formal cause, taking the place of a real one, equivalent in office, but not strictly answering to the definition. In point of fact, indeed, the sentiments felt towards another rarely exist without something in that other to call them forth; but the possibility of its being otherwise is conceivable. The question before us is, What is the formal cause of justification—the cause to which it is immediately attached—with nothing intervening either in fact or idea? If the form of justification is, as it is, a declaration on God's part, what is the immediate moving cause which leads Him to pronounce, in the case of an individual, a sentence of remission of sin and of restoration to favour? Or, as it is sometimes expressed, What does God behold, whether outside or in the individual, in consideration of which justification takes place? In answering these questions Romanists and Protestants take opposite sides. According to the former, in baptism (which pre-

supposes a certain kind of faith, but not what Protestants mean by the term) grace is infused—no doubt in the last resort through the merits of Christ, but still infused—whereby sin is not only covered, but obliterated, the remaining concupiscence not being of the nature of sin; and the person thus justified—that is, made just—is enabled so to fulfil the Divine law, so to work out a righteousness of his own, that on account of it God can and does justify him, without a direct reference to the work of Christ, though not without a presupposition of it, so far as no inherent justifying righteousness can come into being except under and by the covenant of grace (to teach otherwise, indeed, would be simple Pelagianism). So runs the decree of the Council of Trent: ‘Finally, the *only* formal cause of justification is the righteousness of God; not His own righteousness, but that whereby He makes us righteous, in that we are renewed in the spirit of our mind, and are not merely considered, but are righteous.’* Here justification and sanctification are openly identified. Yet the infused justifying grace, though *relatively* independent, is to be ultimately referred to the merits of Christ: ‘Although no one can be righteous, unless the merits of the Passion of Christ are communicated to him’ (by the sacrament of baptism), ‘yet this communication takes place when, through the Holy Spirit, the love of God is shed abroad in the heart’ (according to the erroneous interpretation of Rom. v. 5), ‘and inheres in it; so that in the act of justification along with remission of sin, faith, hope, and charity are infused.’† The part that Christ discharges in the process is more clearly explained in Can. x.: ‘If anyone shall say that we are justified without the righteousness of Christ, through which *He acquired (meruit) the gift for us*, or that His righteousness is the formal cause of justification, let him be anathema.’ Christ, by His obedience and Passion, *earned* for the church the power of conveying through baptism infused justifying grace; but the idea of direct imputation through faith must not be entertained. Subsequent writers of the Romish communion have found some difficulty in commenting on the decisions of the Council. Christ and His work cannot be quite put out of view; the Council itself does not venture to do that. But how and where are they to be introduced? Imputation of some kind, and at some point, must be assumed, if the Pelagian heresy is to be avoided; but how to bring it in is the problem. Is it conveyed once for all at the first infusion, transforming the subsequent righteousness from a process of nature into a gift of grace, as Adam’s sin changed the nature of man for the worse antecedently to actual sin; or does

* Sess. vi., c. 7.

† *Ibid.*

it go along with the inherent righteousness either in the way of tacit reference or of secret virtue communicated from time to time? *Sub judice lis est.* It is not enough to say that the Holy Spirit, dwelling in the Christian's heart and sanctifying it, is, in fact, Christ, with His merits, dwelling there; for Scripture teaches that the gift itself of the Spirit is the fruit of Christ's atoning work, so that we come at last to the idea of a meritorious cause external to us, that is, to the idea of imputation. Such is the doctrine of Rome. The Protestant Confessions, however they may differ on subordinate points, agree in this—that no righteousness inherent in us, however introduced, can abide the strict scrutiny of God's judgment, or enter into the process of justification; not even with a latent or avowed reference to the work of Christ to supply its deficiencies. Indeed, if Christ's merits are to be called in to make up for the defects of our own, this is proof positive that the latter are not sufficient. The formal cause of justification, therefore, is not inherent, but imputed; or, in other words, that which God has regard to in justifying the sinner is the obedience of Christ, active and passive, laid to the account of the believer because of his faith, as our sin was laid to the account of Christ in the Atonement (2 Cor. v. 21). We are 'made the righteousness of God' exactly in the same sense as Christ, who knew no actual sin, 'was made sin for us.' As regards the justified person himself, or the state of justification, it is held that what God has regard to is his faith. This is what distinguishes the justified person from others who are not so; whence, although the expression 'Christ's righteousness imputed,' does not occur in Scripture, it is said of Abraham, and by implication, of Abraham's spiritual children, that faith is imputed to them for righteousness (Rom. iv. 20-25). Now, if by faith we are to understand, as Bishop Bull and others have done, imperfect obedience, since there is no question of faith's being an intrinsic quality, we seem to approximate to the Romish theory; only, instead of the infusion of faith, hope, and charity, we have here the infusion of faith alone, as an epitome of all other graces, or the root whence they spring. And thus it would seem that some Protestant writers assign a double formal cause of justification—one connected with the imputed righteousness of Christ without us and the other with the faith within us; so that, after all, inherent righteousness, in some sense, seems to claim a place in justification. In fact, many writers of the Romish communion hold this view, of whom Pighius* particu-

* Albert Pighius, died 1542. His work, 'Controv. Præcip. Explicat.,' 1541, contains his views on justification. He insists strongly on the insufficiency of any righteousness of ours to meet the demands of the law, and hence

larly deserves mention ; and it has been ascribed to Bucer among Protestants, though J. Gerhard affirms that this Reformer cannot be so understood.* But, we may surely ask, If one formal cause is enough, why should we seek for another ? The truth is that when Protestants speak of faith as the instrument, or means, or condition, of justification, they mean merely that it is the act of appropriation whereby the merits of Christ, otherwise a common benefit to mankind, become an individual possession ; which therefore derives all its justifying efficacy, not from any virtue in itself, but from the object which it apprehends. Faith is not actually righteousness to the believer, but it is imputed to him as such ; which is equivalent to saying that its intrinsic merit is not such as to justify, for there is no need of imputation where the reality exists. Imputation in this case is a merciful acceptance of something in the sinner which is allowed to take the place of perfect obedience ; but not because it contains the seed of all obedience, but because it leads the soul directly up to Him who has wrought out a perfect righteousness for us ; because it appropriates the offered gift, and makes the righteousness of Christ *our* justifying righteousness.† This does not imply that faith is not in itself pleasing to God ; it must be so, since it is appointed the condition to which the promise is attached ; but it is its object, not its contents, which renders it the means of justifying. So that it is not at all adapted to furnish a secondary formal cause of justification, even an improper one ; it does not occupy an independent position ; it is part of the system of imputation which reposes ultimately on the meritorious work of Christ. It is no reproach, therefore, to Protestants, or to some of our own divines—as Jackson and Hooker—if they eventually arrive at the conclusion that, strictly speaking, there is no formal cause of justification.‡ In fact, the work of Christ which is imputed is rather the meritorious cause ; so that the formal must here be also the meritorious, which circumstance takes it out of the category of proper formal causes, these implying

the necessity of an imputation of the perfect righteousness of Christ ; yet assigns some justifying power to the work of grace wrought in us. See J. Gerhard, *Loc. xvii.*, c. 4, § 215.

* *Loc. xvii.*, c. 4, § 197.

† ‘What is the real connexion between Christ and the justified, whatever be its precise nature, which will allow us to call Him the form of our righteousness ? The Lutherans make answer that faith is such a connexion ; to which Vasquez replies by asking whether a man is called rich who by faith apprehends riches, or noble, who so apprehends nobility ?’ (Newman, *Justif.*, App.). But if the apprehension of riches made the riches of another a man’s own, then he might properly be said to be enriched thereby.

‡ See the passage from Jackson in Newman, *Just.*, App.

physical inherence;* while faith, which really is a quality of the mind, is incapacitated from discharging the office of a formal cause by its deriving its virtue entirely from the object which it apprehends. Such is the state of the controversy between us and Rome. Faith being, as it were, put out of court, nothing remains to establish the Romish theory but the sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit, which the Council pronounces the *sole* formal cause of justification, and many Romish writers a conjoint formal cause. To this question, therefore, we proceed.

The point at issue must be clearly understood. It is no reply to Protestant objections that the inherent justifying righteousness infused at baptism is, after all, the gift of God, and cannot be conceived of as independent of His grace; it may be from God, yet once called into being it is as independent a gift as reason is in a man, which ultimately, however, is the gift of God. Nor does the Protestant deny that inherent sanctification is the inseparable accompaniment of justification. No more pernicious distinction can be made in fact, however it may be admitted in idea, than between Christ who justifies, and Christ who sanctifies. The same Holy Spirit who convinces of sin, and calls forth faith, implants, and contemporaneously, a principle of renewal. Nor is it to the point to argue that the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, as distinct from its *effect*—viz., a renewal of the heart—supplies the proper formal cause we are in search of;† for it is the effect, not the agent, that we are here considering. This is, in fact, a revival of Osiander's theory that the essential righteousness of God implanted in us is the true form of justification; a theory which for a time attracted attention, and passed away as a meteor. Nor is it quite fair to substitute the word 'saved' for 'justified' in these discussions;‡ for they are concerned with

* 'Revera in justificatione talis causa formalis ponenda est quæ simul et meritoria esse possit' (Dav., De Just., c. xxii.). 'Si igitur nomen justificari, et ipsum beneficium sive effectum justificationis, non per formam aliquam in nobis inherentem, sed intuitu et respectu alicujus extrinseci habeatur, manifestum erit nos justificari per modum imputationis antea descriptæ; atque hoc extrinsecum, licet non habeat in nobis existentiam formæ physicae, *supplere tamen vicem ejus*, atque *illo sensu* recte dici formalem causam justificationis nostræ, ubi deest formalis intrinseca seu inhærens' (*Ibid.*, xxvii.). He had previously remarked: 'When in the matter of justification we ask, What is the formal cause? the word "form" is not to be strictly taken; because "form" properly is a substance, and goes to complete a substance; but since justification is not the name of a substance' (but of a relation), 'its formal cause may be said to be that on account of which it subsists, whether it be something inherent and complete in the justified man or not' (c. xxiv.).

† Newman, App. 18.

‡ 'We are saved in Christ's righteousness, yet not without our own; or, considering Christ's righteousness as a formal cause, we are saved by two contemporaneous formal causes—by a righteousness meritorious on Christ's part, *inchoat* on ours' (Newman, App. 13).

justification in its technical theological sense, and we only beat about the bush when we employ a more general term. We are saved by being born again, by being justified, by being sanctified, by obedience to the law, by being kept from final declension, by the resurrection of the dead. But the inquiry relates to justification as, in idea, distinct from other gifts of grace. Again, Protestants affirm, no less strongly than their opponents, that the fruits of the indwelling of the Spirit are in themselves really good, are pleasing to God, and will be rewarded by Him. There is no difference on this point. For the true doctrine of Rome we must go back to the Council of Trent: 'The one formal cause of justification is renewal in the spirit of our mind;'^{*} 'If any shall affirm that, under the covenant of grace, it is not possible to keep the law' (as the context proves, so as to be justified thereby), 'let them be anathema' (Sess. vi., c. 7; Can. xviii.). We hold, on the contrary, that inasmuch as a justifying righteousness must be a perfect one, and no one—not even the regenerate—can render this perfect obedience, nothing intrinsic in us can either justify, or form a part of justification. We observe, in the first place, that the Romish doctrine confounds the offices of the Second and Third Persons of the Holy Trinity. For though it is true that, *opera ad extra*, such as creation, are, in one sense to be ascribed to all three Persons in common; yet in the economy of redemption a special one belongs to each; redemption to the Son, sanctification to the Holy Ghost. Now justification, in its proper Biblical sense of remission of sin or imputation of righteousness, is evidently connected with the atoning work of Christ, the Son, who became incarnate that He might reverse the consequences of the fall; not with the work of the Holy Ghost, to whom this part of redemption is never ascribed. He 'sanctifies the elect people of God,' but did not redeem them; His office is to apply the atonement, to quicken the dead soul, to form the new man within, and to carry on the work of sanctifying grace to perfection. But He is never said to have paid the price, provided a ransom, blotted out the handwriting of ordinances, which was a record of our debt; all which figurative expressions describe the means of our justification, not of our sanctification. Justification, then, by an inward presence, or

* 'Justification is not only remission of sin, but also sanctification, and renovation of the inner man' (*Ibid.*). Or, as it is expressed by an English writer of some reputation: 'Our being reckoned righteous—*coram Deo*—always and essentially implies a *substance of righteousness previously implanted in us*, and reputative justification is the strict and inseparable result of this previous moral justification. I mean that the reckoning us righteous indispensably presupposes an inward reality of righteousness, *on which this reckoning is founded*' (A. Knox, 'Remains,' quoted by Newman, App. 17).

an inward work of the third Person, 'confounds the Persons,' not in their internal relations to each other, but in the functions which each discharges in the dispensation of grace. But further, the Council can only maintain its ground in connexion with another dogma; viz., the effect of baptism as regards original sin. 'If anyone,' are its words, 'shall assert that in baptism the whole of that which properly has the nature of sin is not extirpated, let him be anathema;'^{*} that is, not merely the guilt, but all trace of original sin is obliterated. The *fomes*, or material, of concupiscence, it is declared, 'the Catholic Church has never understood to be called sin, in that it has in the regenerate the nature of sin.'[†] If this be so—if the grace infused at baptism so transfigures the '*phronema sarkos*, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh' (Art. ix.), as that God no longer sees any sin in it, then, no doubt, justification by inherent righteousness may be tenable. The Protestant Churches, our own included, decide otherwise, holding that 'this infection of nature remains even in the regenerate,' and that the lust and concupiscence to which it gives rise has 'of itself the nature of sin' (*Ibid.*). As it is not denied on either side that concupiscence, in the Christian's present condition, is active, the above statement of our article amounts to saying that no Christian of the Church militant is without sin; whence it follows that he is not justified by the measure of sanctification which he attains in this life.

Either side appeals to Scripture. To Scripture, then, let us turn. We note that in the prayer which our Lord gave to His disciples—intended to be the model of all prayers, and used by the Church throughout the world—it is taken for granted that sin still cleaves to the regenerate, for such only can approach God as their Father; sin which, however venial it may be, needs to be forgiven through continual application of the blood of Christ. Psalmists, prophets, apostles, know nothing of an inherent righteousness which can abide the judgment of God. David extols the blessedness of the man, not who is without sin, but whose sin is forgiven and covered (Ps. xxxii. 1); and beseeches God not to enter into judgment with His servant, who could not, any more than other men, expect acquittal on that ground (Ps. cxliii. 2). Isaiah confesses that he is 'a man of unclean lips,' and unfit for the vision of God (vi. 5), and numbers himself amongst those who 'are as an unclean thing,' and their 'righteousness as filthy rags' (lxiv. 6). Daniel's prayer (ix.) is chiefly taken up with confession of the sin of his people,

^{*} Sess. v., 5.

[†] *Ibid.*

but lest we should suppose that he does not include himself, he takes care to add, 'While I was confessing *my* sin, and the sin of my people Israel' (verse 20). It may be replied that these holy men lived under the old covenant, and did not enjoy the gift of grace vouchsafed to us; we pass on then to the recorded experience of Christians and our fathers in the faith. St. John declares that 'if we say that we have no sin we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us' (i. 1, 8). St. Paul, writing to those whom he supposed regenerate, reminds them of a struggle going on between 'the flesh,' or their carnal nature, and the Spirit; the one lusting against the other and striving for the mastery, so that they could not do the things that they would (Gal. v. 17). The Spirit, indeed, in true Christians is the dominant principle, and keeps 'the flesh' under, but not without an effort and a conflict; so that the perfection attained is not even that of Adam before the fall, in whom no such strife can be conceived (see § 32). It matters not whether we interpret the clause 'So that ye cannot do the things that ye would,' as meaning 'So that ye are hindered from doing what ye would,' or 'In order that ye may not do the things that ye would'; you cannot attain the holiness which you desire, or you are enabled to overcome the evil tendencies within you; either way a corrupt bias is supposed to be in existence, and to struggle against its Divine antagonist. This 'flesh,' or 'old man,' as the same Apostle terms it, is indeed crucified with Christ, but it is not as yet slain; it is destined to extinction, but the time is not yet come (Rom. vi. 6). Accordingly he avows that, in the matter of sanctification, he had 'not attained, or was already made perfect,' but only 'followed after,' that he might eventually reach the prize of his high calling (Phil. iii. 12-14). Most graphically is the conflict and its result described in Rom. vii. It may seem hardly allowable to refer to this passage, inasmuch as from the earliest times it has been a subject of controversy; the Greek Fathers generally adopting the view that St. Paul does not refer to a regenerate state, Augustine and most of his illustrious followers of the Western Church contending that he does. Among the Reformers, foreign and British, no doubt was entertained that the Apostle is describing his own experience, and of the Roman Catholic theologians the great names of Bellarmine and Cornelius à Lapide may be cited on the same side. There seems, indeed, no reason to suppose that, at any rate from verse 14 of the chapter, he is not speaking of himself, and as a Christian. The idea of a double soul in the same individual, inclining the will in opposite directions, is a familiar one in classical literature;* and our Lord Himself seems

* Δύο γὰρ σαφῶς ἔχω ψυχάς· οὐ γὰρ δὴ μία γε οὐσα ἡμα ἀγαθὴ τέ ἐστι καὶ κακὴ, οὐδ' ἡμα καλῶν τε καὶ αἰσχροῶν ἐργῶν ἐρᾷ, καὶ ταῦτα ἡμα βούλεται τε

to use similar language when He speaks of one soul that must die in order that another may live (Mark viii. 35-38). Literally, no man can have two souls; but the single I, the central personality, may be drawn one way or the other, or both ways at once, by the conflicting principles of good and evil. Our Lord did not mean merely that he who submits to martyrdom for his Master's sake shall live eternally, true as this is; but that, as St. Paul expresses the thought, 'the old man' must be crucified with Christ in order that the 'new man' may occupy the throne of the heart and gradually proceed to reign alone. 'In me,' says the Apostle, 'that is in my flesh,' in my carnal nature considered in itself, the old Adam which still lives and moves in me, 'dwelleth no good thing.' It cannot be improved by the discipline of the law or any human means into the new creation in Christ; it must die as Christ did, in order that as Christ rose from the dead there may be a spiritual resurrection to a new life. Thus, in one sense, 'I am sold under sin,' but in another, 'I delight in the law of God after the inward man.' Thus, 'to will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good' (according to the full requirements of the moral law) 'I find not.' I find 'a law in my members warring against the law of my mind,' and tending to bring me into captivity to the law of sin 'which is in my members.' Unaided from above, I might well despair of victory; but I thank God that I am not under the law but under grace, and through Christ our Lord, I, the man of whom I have been speaking, 'with the mind serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin.'*

It is to be observed that in the passages cited, particularly those from St. Paul's Epistles, it is not so much actual sins which the writers have in view as the 'infection of nature' inherited from Adam, in process indeed of being healed but still operative. The effect of this imperfect recovery is not merely to produce shortcomings in practice, but to debilitate the habit of righteousness, to hang like a weight on its actings, to mar its complete conformity to the Divine ideal. The patient is convalescent but not restored to health. Concupiscence, even when successfully

καὶ οὐ βούλεται (Xenoph., Cyr., vi. 1). 'Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor' (Ovid).

* Tholuck, in his commentary, gives an interesting history of the interpretation of this passage. No one, neither the Jewish people (Reiche), nor any individual, has ever, since the fall, been 'under the law' as a covenant of works; but it is the office of the Holy Spirit to awaken in the sinner a feeling of what such a state would be. And none but a regenerate man can thank God for a deliverer from it. There is much truth in Olshausen's remark, that the understanding of the passage depends very much on the reader's spiritual experience.

resisted, has of 'itself the nature of sin'; it is a symptom, to say the least, of spiritual languor. St. Paul found in himself 'a law,' a tendency, antecedently to any outbreaks of sin, causing him when he would do good to fall short of perfection. This the Council of Trent declares not to partake of the nature of sin, but it elicited from a higher authority the cry, 'O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?' The Council draws a distinction between venial and mortal sin, admitting that the former is found even in the greatest saints; but whence does even venial sin arise? Why should pardonable sins of infirmity sully his bright robe in whom baptism has completely stanchd the original taint? Actions spring from habits, and as the actions are in quality so are the habits. A perfect habit of sanctification, such as the Church expects hereafter, must and will produce the disappearance even of venial sin; if we cannot predicate this of any Christian in this life, we infer that the implanted habit itself has not arrived at its full development. It may be a genuine work of grace, it may contain the germ of future perfection, but at present it does not constitute a perfect righteousness in the sight of God. And such a perfect righteousness, either inherent or imputed, is what is needed in the matter of justification. It is possible, the Council says, so to observe the Divine law as to be justified thereby; it is not possible, the Protestant replies, except on the supposition that original sin is extirpated in itself as well as in its guilt.* There is only one method of escaping from the difficulty, viz., by lowering the standard of the Divine law to meet the necessities of the case.

Our attention, however, is directed to passages of Scripture which seem to favour the Romish doctrine. For example, to our Lord's reply to His questioner, Matt. xix. 17, 'If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments'; to St. Paul's statement that God's object in sending His Son was that 'the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us' (Rom. viii. 4); to Christ's command, 'Be ye perfect, even as your father in heaven is perfect' (Matt. v. 48); to the examples of Abel, Noah, Daniel, Zacharias, Simeon, Cornelius and others, to whom the epithet 'righteous' is applied; to our Lord's warning that unless our righteousness exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees we cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven (Matt. v. 20); to St. Paul's profession, 'I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me' (Phil. iv. 13). The

* The question is not whether, as the Council puts it, it is abstractedly possible for the Christian to attain perfection in this life: no limit can be placed to the Divine power: what God will do hereafter He may, by a special act of grace, do now: but whether it is possible, on the supposition that regeneration does not annihilate the power of original sin.

explanation of such passages has been long ago given by Augustine in the Pelagian controversy. He observes that they are 'pædagogical,' that is, intended to convince the sinner of his helplessness, and by exhibiting the Divine requirements to suggest what he ought to pray for; just as St. Paul describes the law of Moses as 'a schoolmaster' to lead men to Christ. 'The Pelagians think that there is some weight in their objection, God would not command what He knows it is not in our power to accomplish; but let them consider that these precepts, though we cannot fulfil them, teach us what we ought to seek from Him.'* 'The Apostle, writing to the Thessalonians, enjoins charity; blames them for the want of it; prays that they may abound in it. Learn, O man, by the command what thou oughtest to have; by the reproof that thou hast it not; by the prayer, whence thou mayest receive it.'† To the Pelagian misuse of the instances of Zacharias, etc., he replies: 'Celestius does not understand that a man may be called righteous who approaches the standard nearly, which we do not deny has been the case with many even in this life. But it is one thing to be without sin, which in this life could not be said of any but Christ, and another to be without blame, which has been the privilege of many just persons. There is a certain common standard of righteousness against which no charge can be laid; yet by the very prayer which such a righteous man puts up, "Forgive us our trespasses," he confesses that' (in the sight of God) 'he is not without sin.'‡ That an inchoate righteousness is found in every justified man; that the same Holy Spirit who leads Him to Christ for the blotting out of his guilt dwells in him as the Author and Giver of sanctifying grace; that corresponding fruits of holiness will be produced; that such fruits are acceptable to God; all this is admitted: what is not admitted is that this inchoate righteousness of sanctification can ever, in this life, become so perfect as to satisfy the demands of the law, and absolve from its condemning sentence.§ As to the Arminian

* De Grat. et Lib. Arb., xvi.

† De Correp., iii.

‡ De Perfect. Just., xi.

§ Quisquis dicit post acceptam remissionem peccatorum ita quenquam hominem juste vixisse in hac carne, vel vivere, ut nullum habeat omnino peccatum, contradicit Apostolo Johanni (1 John i. 8). Non ait Apostolus, 'Habuius' sed 'Habemus.' Quod si quisquam asserit de illo peccato esse dictum quod habitat in carne secundum vitium quod peccantis primi hominis voluntate contractum est; non autem peccare qui eidem peccato, quamvis in carne habitanti, ad nullum opus malum consentit, quamvis ipsa concupiscentia moveatur quæ alio modo peccati nomen accepit, quod ei consentire peccare sit, nobisque moveatur invitis; subtiliter quidem ista decernit, sed videat quid agatur de dominica oratione ubi dicimus, Dimitte nobis debita nostra: quod, nisi fallor, non opus esset dicere si nunquam, vel in lapsu linguæ, vel oblectanda cogitatione, ejusdem peccati desiderio aliquantulum consentiremus. Aug., De Perf. Just., xxi.

doctrine, prevalent at one time in our Church, that we are justified by an obedience the deficiencies of which are made up by the atoning sacrifice of Christ imputed, it may be dismissed to the lumber-room of the *via media* theology. It is Daniel's image partly of gold and partly of clay, in an aggravated form, and is as little able as its prototype (Dan. ii. 34) to withstand the shock of the adversary, to silence the accuser of the brethren, to still the alarms of conscience, and to impart confidence in the prospect of death and the future judgment.

To sum up: as long as we hold concupiscence, even before the assent of the will, to have a taint of sin; as long as a struggle between the flesh and the spirit, however with a favourable issue, exists, indicating that the work of sanctification is not complete; it is impossible to assign either the or a formal cause of justification to an inherent righteousness, unless, indeed, we lower the requirements of the Divine command to love God with all the heart and soul, and our neighbour as ourselves, so as to fall in with the hypothesis. And it is the consciousness of the difficulty which has prompted the various modes of overcoming it, proposed by Romish theologians or those who substantially agree with them; such as the distinction between venial and mortal sin, the supposition of a supernatural Presence, or *Shekinah*, infused at baptism, with, though *not necessarily of a moral tendency*, invests our imperfect obedience with a Divine glory, and imparts to it a justifying power;* or a plain denial that concupiscence is of the nature of sin, which involves the doctrine that Adam unfallen was capable of being thus solicited in a wrong direction, and needed a superadded gift of grace to keep him from danger.† Against all such theories Art. xi. is directed: 'We are accounted righteous before God only for the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ.' For these last words must not be understood as affirming merely that Christ earned a power to communicate in baptism, that is, through the Church, a righteousness which, weighed in the Divine balances, shall be found adequate to justify; that He is the ultimate cause why the proximate causes are efficient. They mean that there is nothing in ourselves which, if we take up a position on legal ground, can justify us; as, indeed, the word 'accounted' sufficiently implies. To be accounted and to be made righteous are essentially different ideas, and the hinge of the controversy turns on the difference. There is no need of 'accounting,' that is of imputation, if any

* 'We may well believe that it is an inward, yet not a moral gift, but a supernatural power or Divine virtue' (Newman, *Just.*, L. vii., 4).

† Newman, *Lect.* vii., 2. So Bull, *State of Man Before the Fall*. Tum originalis justitie admirabile donum addidit (viz., to Adam as he came from the hands of his Creator), *Cat. Conc. Trid.*, A. i., c. 2, 22.

inherent habit or quality, either in itself or by reason of Christ's presence encircling it, is so perfect as that God can see no sin in it, and therefore, as a matter of justice, must absolve. Let the expression, 'Christ's righteousness is imputed to us,' be avoided, as not literally found in Scripture; what does the opponent thereby gain, if he accepts our Article, 'We are *accounted* righteous before God *only* for the merits of Christ'? Is there any real difference between the two statements? The old high church view that our obedience justifies, but completed or sprinkled by the atoning Blood, is excluded by the word 'only'; the merits of Christ refuse a mere partnership in the matter. If, indeed, by the expression were meant that the obedience of Christ is imputed to us for *sanctification*, that His righteousness dispenses with our aiming to be pure as He is pure, it would be objectionable as tending to Antinomianism; but justification, not sanctification, is the matter to which it refers. God remits our guilt, from a view of Christ's merits, not of anything in ourselves; this is its simple meaning, as it is that of the Apostle Paul.* 'All,' says Davenant, 'depends on the meaning of Scripture, not on the particular form of words or niceties of language.†' The internal means, or instrument, or condition, that which God has in view when He justifies the individual, is faith, and 'faith only.' Not, however a general acceptance of revealed truth, or an epitome of all Christian graces, but a special apprehension of the promise of mercy under a conviction of sin. (This point will be considered more at length in the next section.) Through this faith Christ's righteousness is made the believer's own, or becomes inward as a possession; and is no mere shadow or external covering. Yet faith does not justify as a grace, but as the connecting link between us and Christ. Justification is not merely declarative, but transitive, on God's part, conveying the spirit of adoption; it is more, therefore, than remission of sin, or atonement, such as St. Paul declares may consist with our being personally 'enemies' (Rom. v. 10); it is an assurance to the individual of his being interested in the atonement, and presupposes not merely the death, but the resurrection of Christ. In this point of view it is the truth (and all forms of religious extravagance take their rise from some truth overlooked or forgotten) which, in the early years of Wesley's revival, asserted itself under aspects which too often raised a prejudice against the movement, and, what was of greater moment, against the scriptural doctrine itself of the Holy Spirit's work.

* The words *δορεάν, χάριτι* (Rom. iii. 24) of themselves convey this meaning.

† De Just. Hab., C. xxiv.

§ 66. *Justifying Faith.*

One of the historians of the Council of Trent, of great repute, tells us that the assembled fathers were much exercised in attempting to explain the Apostle's statement, 'We conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law' (Rom. iii. 28).^{*} We cannot wonder at their perplexity when we remember the scholastic training which they had received, particularly as regards the theory of an infused justifying righteousness. In what sense were they to understand the faith which St. Paul apparently makes the instrument, or condition, of justification? How reconcile his words with the prevalent teaching of the Church? It is obvious that faith, for some reason and in some sense, occupies a very prominent position in his reasoning on justification; it cannot be overlooked; it must be explained, or explained away. The difficulty was obvious, and was met as best it might. 'With few exceptions,' says Pallavicini, 'they all agreed that when a man is said to be justified by faith, faith must be taken, not as the whole and the immediate cause of justification, but as the first preparation, and the first necessary root, to the actions whereby the gift is obtained; or if we may, in some sense, assign it the function of an immediate cause, yet it must not then be thought of as alone, but in conjunction with penitence and baptism.'[†] This description of justifying faith was adopted by the Council, and appears in its decree. 'Whereas,' it says, 'the Apostle declares that we are justified by faith, and gratuitously, he must be understood in the sense which the Catholic Church has always assigned to his words, viz., that faith is the commencement, the root, and the foundation, of all justification; since without it it is impossible to please God. And as to the gratuitous nature of justification, it means that none of those things which precede justification, whether faith or works, deserve the grace of justification itself.'[‡] Faith is thus classed with the preparatory antecedents to justification, such as conviction of sin, alarms of conscience, and a general hope of God's mercy. In itself it is assent to the truths of revelation, especially as interpreted by the Church; as such it places the sinner on the road to justification; § but it is not the direct instrument, still

* 'Ingens omnes inceserat cura explicandi effatum Apostoli, Hominem justificari per fidem, quod erat unicum Lutherani erroris perfugium' (Pallavicini, L. viii., c. 4).

† L. viii., c. 4. What the fathers meant by 'penitence' must be gathered from the history, and actual working, of the penitential institute in those ages.

‡ Sess. vi., c. 8.

§ 'Efficit (fides) ut a Deo respiciamur ceu iter justitiæ jam ingressi' (Diaz in Pallavicini, viii., 4, 16).

less the only one, of receiving that gift, or of retaining it when received.* This amounts merely to saying that a man must be a professed believer in Christianity before we can enter into the question of his justification; which, however true, does not throw much light upon the matter. The only office of faith, then, is to lead up to the sacrament of baptism, in which the special grace of justification is infused, and in which faith itself is transformed from acquiescence in the truth of revelation into a faith informed by love (*fides formata*). In this state it may be allowed to take its place as a means of justification among other graces; and so St. Paul is to be understood. The Council, however, does not explain why, of all graces, faith should be singled out so remarkably by the Apostle for the office of justifying.

It is only by inference and comparison that we arrive at last at the true meaning of the decisions of Trent, for it is by no means easy to gather from them what connection the fathers wished to establish between faith and justification. Faith is necessary as a *radix*, or *fundamentum*; but that this is what Protestants call a dead, historical faith (*notitia historica*), appears not only from its being defined as a passive reception of revealed truth, but from the statement, more than once repeated, that whereas the grace of justification is lost by mortal sin, faith is not affected thereby.† It appears, too, from the process of recovery from mortal sin, as described by the Council, in which faith holds no place at all.‡ Now, a faith which is consistent with a state of mortal sin can have no direct connection with justification, particularly if the latter term, as explained by the Council, includes sanctification.

* Nonnulli, cum dicitur quod fides justificet, intelligunt de principio, quod fides sit initium justificationis, ceu preparatio ad justificationem, ita ut non sit ipsa fides illud quo accepti sumus Deo sed opera quæ sequuntur. Et somniant fidem ideo valde laudari quia sit principium; ut vulgo dicunt ἀρχὴ ἡμῶν παντός; ut si quis dicat quod grammatica efficiat omnium artium doctores, quia preparat ad alias artes, etiamsi sua quemque ars vere artificem efficit. Melancthon, Apol. Conf. Aug., c. ii., § 72. Bellarmine accepts this as the doctrine of his church. This, he says, is one great point of distinction between Protestants and Romanists, Quod in objecto fidei justificantis hæretici (Protestants) id restringunt ad solam promissionem misericordiæ specialis, Catholici tam late patere volunt quam late patet verbum Dei; quia potius certam promissionem specialis misericordiæ non tam ad fidem quam ad præsumptionem pertinere contendunt. De Justif., i. 4.

† Asserendum est, quocumque mortali peccato, *quamvis non amittatur fides*, acceptam justificationis gratiam amitti. Sess. vi., c. 15.

‡ Docendum est Christiani hominis penitentiam post lapsum multo aliam esse a baptismali; eaque contineri non modo cessationem a peccatis aut cor contritum, verum etiam eorundem sacramentalem confessionem et sacerdotalem absolutionem; itemque satisfactionem per jejunia, eleemosynas, orationes, et alia spiritualia exercitia. *Ibid.*, c. 14. Faith here disappears altogether, and this is not to be wondered at, if it is merely the *initium*, or foundation, of justification.

It certainly cannot be the faith of which St. Paul speaks in Rom. iii.-viii., for the faith of Abraham, to which he compares it, was no otiose belief in the existence of God, but confidence in a promise (Rom. iv. 21); and this confidence can hardly be supposed existing in one living in mortal sin. Moreover, the whole scope of the Apostle's argument is to show that the renewal of heart which the law is unable to effect is the direct fruit of the justifying faith which he has in his mind—that this faith is incompatible with a state of habitual sin (Rom. vi.). 'Received ye the Spirit,' he asks the Galatians, 'by the works of the law or by the hearing of faith?' 'Even as Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness.' 'They which are of faith' (and by the Spirit mortify the deeds of the body) 'are blessed with faithful Abraham' (Gal. iii. 2, 6, 9). The faith of St. Paul, then, is a sanctifying faith; of an entirely different quality from the Tridentine radix of justification, which can consort amicably with mortal sin. The truth is that such a faith would not have been considered faith at all by the Apostle in connection with the subject of which he was treating: all through his epistles saving faith is supposed to be an active principle, operative in the way of love (Gal. v. 6), not animated by love.* We read of 'a work of faith' which is connected with a 'labour of love' (1 Thess. i. 3). In the Epistle to the Hebrews, written under the influence of St. Paul's teaching, if not actually by the Apostle, faith prompts to great sacrifices and mighty deeds (chap. xi.). It was only when Antinomian tendencies began to appear in the Church that St. James was moved to make distinctions between Christian faith and the faith of devils, and between a dead and a living Christian faith. Such distinctions do not appear in St. Paul's writings, not even when he alludes to a faith which may be destitute of charity (1 Cor. xiii. 2); for it is evident from the context that he is speaking in the passage alluded to not of saving, that is, justifying, faith, but of an extraordinary spiritual gift, not necessarily of moral quality, similar in nature to the gift of tongues or of prophecy. The mere preparatory faith, therefore, which the Council describes as 'the foundation' of justification, and which can hardly be distinguished from indifference, is inadequate to explain the office, and virtue, and position, which St. Paul assigns to faith in the matter of justification. And the Tridentine fathers show their sense of this by admitting that faith as the mere radix, which is compatible with mortal sin, must be vivified, receive a soul, become instinct with energy, before it can be directly connected with justification. When the preliminary 'dispositions' are complete, then the act of justification takes

* *πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη*; the middle used in an active signification.

place, which consists in 'infusing into the soul, along with remission of sin, faith, hope, love'; 'for faith' (it must be presumed the faith which is a mere negative condition), 'unless it receives an addition of hope and love, does not unite us perfectly with Christ, nor make us living members of His body; whence it is most truly said that faith without works is dead and otiose.'* The infused qualities are probably taken from 1 Cor. xiii. 13, but there is some ambiguity in the mode of expression. Faith as the radix 'disposes' to justification; but it appears again as infused, and love comprehends hope. The meaning, however, is clear. What the Council intends is that the otiose substructure of faith must be transformed into the *fides formata* of the Schoolmen before it justifies. This latter term is derived from the Aristotelian philosophy. Matter and form were supposed to constitute a thing as we actually find it: matter supplying the material, form the distinctive feature or principle; here faith, as a condition *sine quâ non*, supplies the material, but in this state it is *informis*, has no justifying power—impregnated with love, it receives its form, or animating principle.† At what moment or by what means does the *fides informis* advance to *fides formata*? The Council is not very distinct on this point, but the answer is incidentally supplied. The instrumental cause of justification is the Sacrament of Baptism; before the sacrament catechumens do not possess *fides formata*, but seek it *from the Church*; the Church, through the sacrament which it administers, effects the desired change, and the candidate emerges from the baptismal font with love infused into his previously imperfect faith.‡ But now arises a difficulty. Faith informed by love is in danger of being no longer faith. When a passive acceptance of the creed and the energetic principle of love are fused together, the weaker constituent must give way to the stronger; the combination will derive its nature from the predominant element; the *name* of faith may be retained, but the

* Sess. vi., c. 7. Quæ justitia nostra dicitur quia per eam nobis in hærentem justificamur, illa eadem Dei est quia a Deo nobis infunditur per Christi meritum, c. 16.

† Fides per quam a peccato mundamur non est fides informis, quæ potest esse etiam cum peccato; sed est fides formata per caritatem; ut sic passio Christi nobis applicetur non solum quantum ad intellectum, sed etiam quantum ad effectum. T. Aquin., P. iii., Q. xlix., A. 1.

‡ Hanc fidem (saving) ante baptismi sacramentum ex Apostolorum traditione catechumeni ab ecclesia petunt. . . . Instrumentalis causa, sacramentum baptismi, quod est sacramentum fidei (that is, the sacrament of imparting it). Sess. vi., c. 7. Comp. Newman, L. x.: 'Faith is justifying because of baptism; it is the faith of the baptized, of the regenerate, that is of the justified. Justifying faith does not precede justification; but justification precedes faith, and makes it justifying. Baptism is the primary instrument, and *causes faith to be what it is, and otherwise is not.* . . . Faith comes to the Fount of life to be made alive.'

result will practically be love, and to love, that is, to inherent righteousness, justification is after all ascribed. The *fides formata* of the Schoolmen and of Rome ends by referring us to ourselves, and not to Christ for justifying righteousness. No wonder that the fathers at Trent were perplexed how to interpret St. Paul. Neither faith as a mere radix or indispensable condition, nor faith informed by love as the true and immediate means, of justification could be made to fit in with his statement: 'A man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.'

A man cannot be said to be justified by faith who is really justified by love under the guise of faith (*fides formata*); but the difficulty was increased when the latter clause, 'without the deeds of the law,' came under consideration.* For 'love is the fulfilling of the law' (Rom. xiii. 10), that is, the moral law, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself'; and it is with the moral law that we are here concerned. Love to God must manifest itself in obedience to God's commands, and love to our neighbour in works of charity. If, then, justifying faith is in fact love, an inherent quality, from its very nature the fulfilling of the law, how can justification be 'without the deeds of the law'? To clear up the question, it must be observed that St. Paul does not mean that justification can exist without obedience, or without issuing therein—obedience is a necessary accompaniment of a justified state—what he means is, that justifying faith in its essence, as it must be conceived of, is not obedience either inward or outward; the preposition, in fact, is *χωρίς*, apart from, not *ἀνευ*; 'apart from the works of the law, which necessarily follow it, but do not enter into its conception, the faith of which I am speaking justifies.' But the Council had already defined justifying faith as in effect love, and the Apostle's exclusion of works from it caused some embarrassment. Various methods of explanation were suggested; such as that St. Paul meant only the ceremonial law of Moses, or works done before the infusion of grace, and did not mean to exclude works done after justification.† In fact, Bishop Bull was anticipated by several of the members of the Council. Precisely the same position is taken up by this writer in his Harm. Apost., the second dissertation. He was too acute to argue that the Apostle had only the ceremonial law in his mind; an interpretation which is supposed to have originated with Jerome, but which has been abandoned by all

* Luther paraphrased the clause by the single word 'only,' which has passed into our article: 'We are justified by faith only' (Art. xi.). The change was not necessary to his argument.

† Pallav., viii., c. 4, 13.

commentators of note, the Romish included. 'It is plain that St. Paul referred both to the ceremonial and the moral precepts of the law' (Diss. Post., c. vii.). How could it be otherwise, when he declares that 'by the law is the knowledge of sin'? (Rom. iii. 20); and adds, as an illustration, that 'he had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet,' which is part of the decalogue. Bull's efforts, therefore, are directed to prove that by 'works of the law' are meant works done under the law, and with only the aids which it could supply; works which, since the law neither revealed a sufficient atonement nor gave a promise of grace, were, in fact, works done in a state of nature, and could not be supposed to justify. It does not follow that works done 'by the grace of Christ and the inspiration of His Spirit' (Art. xiii.) may not have this power.* So runs the argument; but it is built upon the sand. It is certain that by *ἔργα νόμου* we must understand not works done under the law, but works which the law commands. The contrast is never drawn between *ἔργα πίστεως* and *ἔργα νόμου*, but between faith and works of the law; between the mode of justification by faith, and the mode of justification by fulfilling the requirements of the law. The only question, then, is whether St. Paul's statement refers solely to the first act of justification and not to its continuance, or whether it applies to the whole course of the subsequent Christian life. To explain: According to the doctrine of Rome, the Sacrament of Baptism infuses justifying grace—this is a single act not to be repeated—thenceforward the justified person, on the basis of *fides formata*, or love infused, co-operates towards his justification by good works, even to the extent of meriting, on the principle of condignity, an increase of justification. Now, supposing that St. Paul's discussion in Romans, in which faith plays so prominent a part, is only to be understood of the entrance into a justified state, we should expect that his language would be very different when he comes to speak of those—for instance, himself—who had passed that primary stage. This, however, is not the case. On the memorable occasion, fourteen years after his conversion, when he 'withstood Peter to the face' at Antioch, he expresses himself exactly as in Romans: 'Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not

* Summa hæc est: Rejicit a justificatione Apostolus Paulus opera: 1, ritualia, quæ lex ceremonialis præscripsit; 2, moralia, quæ nativis hominum viribus in statu sive legis sive mære naturæ fiunt, ante et citra gratiam evangelii. . . . E contra, opera moralia, ex gratia evangelii profecta, vi fœderis evangelici ad hominis justificationem valere atque omnino esse necessaria, non tantum non negat Paulus sed in eo fere totus est ut evincat. Bull, Diss. Post., c. xviii.

by the works of the law ; for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified : the life which I *now* live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me' (Gal. ii. 16, 20). The whole scope of the Epistle to the Galatians is to warn them that, 'having begun in the spirit,' having through faith received complete remission of sin, they should not attempt to supplement that justification either with moral, inherent, graces, or with what he calls 'the weak and beggarly elements' of the ceremonial law ; still less with the unauthorized additions which the Jews made to that law, or the ascetic exercises and 'satisfactions' which a false gnosticism had begun to introduce into the Church (Col. ii. ; 1 Tim. iv. 3). Their justification was not capable of, nor did it need, any improvement or increase by such means. And in a later epistle he professes not merely that at first, but when he wrote near the end of his course, his desire was that he might be found in Christ, not having his own righteousness which is of the law, but 'that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God' (God's gift), 'by faith' (Phil. iii. 9). The justifying faith of St. Paul, then, is neither a mere assent to Gospel truth, nor a faith vivified by love and practically swallowed up in the inherent gift to which it leads. Nor is it a faith which, after having led to baptism, disappears thenceforward as the maintaining principle of an accepted state. However we may define it, it is with him the first connecting-link with Christ, and the mainspring of the Christian life to the end ; and this apart from, though not without, works, evangelical or other.

Bishop Bull's exegetical mistakes arose from his attempting to establish an identity between the faith of St. Paul and the faith of St. James ; with a view to the leading principle of his work, that not faith alone, but faith conjoined with evangelical obedience, is the intrinsic ground of our acceptance with God. St. James declares that 'by works a man is justified, and not by faith only' ; the words, taken as they sound, and without comparing Scripture with Scripture, favour the Bishop's theory, and he had to prove, if possible, that St. Paul does not contradict his brother Apostle. The task was a difficult one, and must always end in failure if it be assumed that the word 'faith' is used in the same sense by these Apostles. As regards Bull's theory itself, with the exception of the dogma of grace of condignity, it is the same as the doctrine of Rome. Faith is not the *ἔργον ληπτικόν*, the means of appropriating a promise, but the complex of all Christian graces : 'The faith which is so extolled in the New Testament is by no means to be taken for a single grace. For it comprehends in its embrace all the works of Christian

piety.* Had he meant that 'good works do necessarily spring out of a lively faith,' as the fruit from a good tree;† and possibly, when he calls faith 'the root,' or 'mother,' of such works, some such idea may have been present to him; he would have been in accordance with Scripture. But his aim is different. It is to make out that faith justifies, not on account of the object which it embraces—Christ and His merits—but from its own inherent acceptableness, as comprehending all evangelical obedience. And if it be asked why should faith, rather than love or humility or any other Christian grace, be connected with justification, the reply is, that it more than any other expresses the fact that the whole scheme of salvation is of grace, a free gift of God.‡ It is thus deprived of its apprehensive character, and becomes, in the language of the Council of Trent, either a mere radix, or foundation, of a justified state, or the *fides formata* of the Schoolmen.§ That to make faith the *instrument* of justification incurs his severest censure may be anticipated.|| And, indeed, if by the expression it were intended that faith is either the meritorious, or the physical, cause of justification—by a physical cause being understood one which *produces* its effect—his

* Diss. Prior., c. ii.

† It may be a question whether this expression, or its equivalent *Fides foeta bonis operibus justificat ante partum*, is an accurate statement. Good works do not spring from faith as the fruit from a tree, as virtually contained in it. They are always found *with* justifying faith, because the Holy Spirit who produces faith is also a sanctifying Spirit.

‡ Etiam si illæ (the Protestant Confessions) doceant, *ex fide sola sine operibus hominem justificari*, illud tamen eo sensu explicant quem nos pronis ulnis amplexamur; scil. sententiam istam figurate accipiendam esse, ita ut in fidei nomine *gratia* intelligatur, atque idem sit solâ fide justificari quod sola gratia, non ex operum merito, justificari. D. Pr., c. 6.

§ Nullus dubito quin caritas recte dici possit fidei justificantis forma: fidei, inquam, justificantis: quia fidem per se propriam formam habere in confesso est: at fides quæ et quatenus justificat vera caritate informetur omnino est necesse. *Ibid.*, c. 4. Concedimus alio respectu (fidem) ipsa caritate atque adeo aliis omnibus virtutibus superiorem esse; in hoc sc. quod aliorum operum omnium radix et fundamentum sit, quasi mater cæterarum virtutum. *Ibid.*, c. ii.—In a figurative and improper sense living faith may be described as the 'mother of Christian graces,' inasmuch as a justified state attained through such faith is the *first* condition of sanctification; but what kind of faith it is which Bull means is explained further on (c. 4).—Sciendum est quod fides in N. T. (ubi spectatur a cæteris virtutibus distincta) *in assensu mentis unice statuitur*; ut sit nihil aliud quam assensus talis quo Christum credimus passum, mortuum atque excitatum mortuis, ac propterea vera esse quæ Dei nomine sive præcipiendo sive promittendo nobis attulit: in other words, it is a mere assent to the articles of faith. How such a faith can be the 'mother of holiness,' except as a mere condition *sine quâ non*, is not easy to see. In fact, the definition seems borrowed word for word from that of the Council of Trent, Sess. vi., c. 6.

|| Quod jactant de instrumentalitate fidei in justificationis negotio nihil quam meram et inanem subtilitatem redolet. *Ibid.*, c. ii.

criticism would not be misplaced. But by the word 'instrument' as used in the Protestant Confessions is meant merely that faith is the receptive faculty of the offered gift—a moral instrument, as some term it; and this is what Bull really objects to. 'If in this sense faith is called an instrument, we deny that it is the only one; repentance' (in its eleven manifestations), 'as we have abundantly proved, being as much a condition or means of justification as faith itself' (Diss. P., ii. 7, 9). He cites the Protestant Confessions as stating that 'faith alone, without works, justifies'; but one of them, with which he must have been familiar, and which explains the saying, he passes over in silence, the 'Homily on Justification' (the only one which is of symbolical authority, Art. xi.): 'Faith doth not shut out repentance, hope, love, dread, and the fear of God, to be joined with faith in every man that is justified; but it *shutteth them out from the office of justifying*.' As regards St. James, when he reminds those to whom he writes that, 'faith, if it hath not works is dead, being alone, and that as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also,' can he be supposed to mean that the addition of works to a faith presumed to be a dead one can vivify it, or co-operate with it to justification? Life is not thus communicated *ab extra*, but springs up from within. It would be a mechanical admixture and nothing better. We may be sure that no such idea was present to the Apostle. He describes not justifying faith, but a faith which does not justify because it is dead. But, to turn from an author who, from the vivacity of his style will always be read with interest, but who is no safe guide in doctrine, let the matter be considered in its real bearings.

What is the true distinction between the Romish and the Protestant doctrine of justification? On both sides it is admitted that Christ came into the world to be a saviour; on both sides that justification and sanctification are always found together; and that salvation, begun here and completed hereafter, comprehends both these gifts. That the objective salvation wrought out by Christ must be applied, and become appropriated, individually, and that means are provided for this purpose, viz., the Word and the sacraments, is not a matter of debate. The distinction is this: The Romanist teaches forgiveness of sin through sanctification, the Protestant sanctification through forgiveness of sin. All other points of difference run up eventually into this one. And the question is, Which is in the right? Christ, like His forerunner, preached repentance as a necessary preliminary to entering the Kingdom of God, and in the Sermon on the Mount exhibited what the law requires, if it was to be relied on

as a means of justification, and what the standard is at which His followers should aim ; but as the time approached when He should be received up unto the Father, forgiveness of sin came more and more into prominence as the great object of His mission. 'Son, be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee' (Matt. ix. 2) ; this was the special blessing which the Son of Man was empowered to bestow, and how it was to be procured is gradually disclosed. He was to 'give His life a ransom for many' (Mark x. 45) ; 'to be lifted up from the earth' that He might draw all men unto Him (John xii. 32) ; to give His flesh for the life of the world (*Ibid.*, vi. 51). And in the sacrament which He appointed for a perpetual remembrance of Himself and His work, the bread and the wine were to be the symbols of His body broken and blood shed for the remission of sin. To proclaim that the ransom was paid, the atonement between God and man effected, was the last charge which He gave to His Apostles. 'Go, preach this Gospel to every creature' (Mark xvi. 15). They went forth as they were commanded, and 'ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ' (Acts v. 42) ; not as a law-giver but as a redeemer, 'to whom all the prophets give witness that through His name whosoever believeth on Him shall receive remission of sin' (*Ibid.*, x. 43). They announced themselves ambassadors for Christ, beseeching men to be reconciled to God on the ground that God had reconciled Himself to man through the atonement (2 Cor. v. 20, 21). The acceptance of their message issued in forgiveness of sin, and this was ever the first step towards all that was to follow in the way of redemption. The word translated 'redemption' in Ephes. i. 7 (ἀπολύτρωσις) signifies all that is comprised in that term, even the resurrection of the body (Rom. viii. 23), but especially 'the forgiveness of sins.*' And how was the message to be received, to the actual salvation of individuals? How could any word of promise be received, except by faith? 'He that believeth and' (as a consequence) 'is baptized, shall be saved' ; 'believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' Not by an infused gift, conveyed in baptism, but by the faculty, whatever name it may bear, by which *promises* are received and appropriated, is this promise made our own ; an offered gift is not received by a gift. It is by and through the Word that God deals with man in the first instance ; and the first step on man's part in the order of salvation is to believe what that Word declares ; and not merely its general contents, but the specific promise of forgiveness of sin through Christ, to be apprehended by faith. For this is what the

* Comp. Col. i. 14 : ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν.

conscience burdened with a sense of guilt craves to be assured of ; how man, unable to meet the accusations of the law or renew his own heart, can be just with God. Until this vital point is settled, there can be no question of loving God or walking in His ways. Sin, past and present, raises a barrier between the God of infinite holiness and the fallen creature ; a barrier which never can be removed either by the obedience of works or by Church ordinances considered in themselves. Hence the circle in which the Romanist is perpetually driven, without finding rest : he is justified only by a faith vivified by love (*fides formata*), that is, in effect by the grace of love ; but he cannot love God until he is reconciled to God, and he can neither attain nor be conscious of reconciliation except by simple reliance on the promise ; and this simple reliance, according to the Council of Trent, is not sufficient for the purpose. But faith, it is replied, is itself a condition or means ; true, but not faith as the complex of Christian graces, or as a mere assent to articles of faith, but faith as the recognition and confession on the part of the sinner that there is no good thing in him, and a thankful acceptance of gratuitous mercy offered through Christ. Not the love which the believer has, but the love which he desires to have, but feels that he has not ; and under this feeling of deficiency reliance on the Redeemer, and Him alone, justifies ; that is, in other words, apprehensive faith. For the very essence of faith is renunciation both of itself as meritorious and of any inherent righteousness attainable in this life, as availing for justification. And this leads us to remark that Protestantism has its *fides formata* as well as Romanism, only the form is not love but conviction of sin. Conviction of sin is what transforms otiose assent to revealed truth into active living faith ; faith that fastens on the promise directly, and is followed, in various measure according to its strength, by the witness of the Spirit testifying to the inner man the Divine absolution. Where there is no conviction of sin there is not, there cannot be, justifying faith, and where there is no justifying faith there cannot be evangelical love to God. The woman who washed Christ's feet with her tears (Luke vii.) testified her love to Him because her sins had been already forgiven, not that they might be so ; her love was the proof, not the meritorious cause, of forgiveness.* Conviction of sin had led her to the Saviour—when and where we are not told—and from His lips she had received the assurance of forgiveness ; thence sprang her devotion to Him, as the fruit from the tree ; ‘ Woman, thy faith hath saved thee ; go in peace ’ (ver. 50). It is thus, too, that justifying faith

* *Remissio peccatorum, Simoni non cogitata, probatur a fructu.* Bengel, *in loc.*

comes to be called the gift of God ; a special gift of grace. The faculty of assent to a statement is born with us, but we do not act upon the statement until the will is influenced by some constraining motive, such as in the affairs of this life the prospect of gain or of deliverance from temporal damage. In spiritual things the motive power is wanting, interest in the promise is not aroused, until, by the special operation of the Holy Ghost, the misery of our natural state becomes felt. Then languid acquiescence gives place to the passionate inquiry, 'What must I do to be saved?' (Acts xvi. 30), and faith, quickened into life, grasps the promise unto salvation ; 'with the heart man believeth unto righteousness' (Rom. x. 10). And thus it is that sanctification builds itself on forgiveness of sin, not the latter upon the former.

Such is justifying faith in its nature, its office, and its effect ; similar in essence, though not in object, to the faith which our Lord demanded, and so much commended, in those who applied to Him for the cure of their bodily diseases, and to the instances enumerated in Heb. xi. In the former cases there was, strictly speaking, no promise on which the sufferers could depend, but there was what was equivalent to such a promise. There was the fact before their eyes that the Saviour had never refused to afford relief on previous similar occasions, and that relief had always followed His interference. His power and His willingness to heal had been sufficiently demonstrated ; the applicants believed that He had power to assist them, 'Lord, if Thou wilt, Thou canst make me clean,' and they trusted that He would exercise that power on their behalf, a trust which was never disappointed — 'I will, be thou clean.' Here saving faith exhibited itself in its essential elements. There could be no question of assent to revealed truth, for no full revelation thereof had as yet been given, at least in connection with the person and work of Christ ; and no such assent was required by the Saviour as a condition of His miraculous cures. 'If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest' be baptized (Acts viii. 37) ; and the Eunuch's profession, 'I believe that Jesus is the Son of God,' was deemed by Philip sufficient ; not a belief that Jesus, as the only-begotten Son, was consubstantial with the Father, however implicitly truths of this kind may have been involved in the confession, but that the crucified and risen Jesus was He of whom the prophet Isaiah spake, when he foretold that a Redeemer should appear upon whom the Lord would 'lay the iniquity of us all' (Isa. liii.). It was the special fact that forgiveness of sin was to be obtained through Jesus of Nazareth, which the Eunuch believed, and which opened his way directly to the baptismal font. As regards Heb. xi., Noah, Abraham, Sarah, Rahab, and Moses, acted on a

special promise of temporal advantage or deliverance ; the other instances resemble those of the Gospel narrative, they believed generally that 'God is, and is a rewarder of them that seek Him' (Heb. xi. 6). Psychologically their faith resembled Christian faith, but the object was different, and the object, to some extent, conditionates both the nature and the intensity of the exercise of faith. Reduced to its primary element, faith is a realizing of the existence of unseen things (Heb. xi. 1), but clothed with flesh and blood it assumes, in each case, a character of its own. Hence it is an inadequate description of *justifying* faith, that it is an acceptance of the articles of the creed, even though it is added that this assent must influence the will and affections.* It approaches too nearly the language of the Council of Trent, that men are 'disposed' to justification by being moved by Divine grace to believe as true what has been revealed, especially that the sinner is justified through the redemption that is in Christ ; and by being brought, under conviction of sin, to entertain hopes that God in His mercy will be propitious to them ; whence they begin to love God, etc.† The Council does not maintain that a mere assent of the understanding is sufficient to prepare for the infusion of grace ; it anticipates that the truths of revelation steadily contemplated will have an effect on the will and affections, and produce love to God of some kind and to some extent. What it does systematically keep out of view is that faith, to become justifying, must lay hold upon a special promise, the promise of forgiveness of sin, and appropriate it. It never intensifies faith up to this point ; its faith remains a mere radix, or preparation towards real justifying grace. Faith admits of various degrees ; the preparatory stages of conversion or regeneration all involve faith ; but it is of a lower order and inferior intensity as compared with the decisive internal act which conveys the spirit of adoption, and completes the acceptance of the penitent. Much nearer the truth is the view which identifies justifying faith with trust,‡ although it may be thought to err in defect. Belief is the correlative of a promise, trust is concerned with the person who makes it. Can we depend on his truthfulness, his good will, his power to fulfil the promise ? If there is doubt on these points hesitation may arise, no matter how attractive the announcement may be ; but let the promise be exactly such as is needed, and trust in the Author of it complete, and the

* Heurtley, B. L., Sermon. v.

† Sess. vi., c. 6.

‡ Ten Sermons on the Nature and Effects of Faith, by Bishop O'Brien. Not, certainly, such a trust as may be common to good and bad. 'I do not say that there is no such thing as trusting in Christ's mercy for salvation, and a comfort resulting from it. *Bad and good feel it.*' Newman, *Justif.*, L. xi.

combination will furnish as accurate a conception of justifying faith as the subject admits of. This is the *fiducia* of the Reformers as distinguished from the assent of Romanism; and so essential an element is trust of it that they do not hesitate to describe trust as the soul, or, in scholastic language, the form, of justifying faith.* Whether trust or conviction of sin be selected as thus vivifying a mere assent is immaterial; either way the true nature of justifying faith is indicated, and distinguished from the mere preparatory faith of Romanism.

§ 67. Assurance.

The Council of Trent, in its decrees on justification, deems it necessary to caution Christians against entertaining too strong a conviction of their acceptance with God. 'We must not assert that they who are truly justified ought, without doubt, to conclude with themselves that they are justified; and that none are so save those who with certainty believe it; and that by this faith alone justification is effected. For as no pious person ought to be in doubt concerning God's mercy, Christ's merits, and the virtue of the sacraments, so there is no one who feels his own shortcomings but may hesitate to say he has grace; at least, with such a certainty of faith as to exclude the chance of mistake.† The corresponding canon (xiii.) somewhat modifies these statements. It contents itself with anathematizing those who hold 'that it is essential to remission of sin that no hesitation arising from a consciousness of infirmity should be felt on the point.' But there is no doubt as to the general meaning, and as little doubt as to the object aimed at. It is contrary to the spirit of Romanism that the Christian should be too independent of the Church, that is the priesthood, and of the power of the keys; and of this there might be a danger if he were encouraged on account of his faith alone to expect a sense of reconciliation with God through the remission of sin.

There was little need of the caution, and the Council gave itself superfluous trouble when once it had decided that our justifying righteousness is, in whatever sense, inherent. For there is no more sure method of keeping the Christian in a state of doubt respecting his acceptance than to direct him to his own attainments as the ground either of his meriting or being persuaded of

* Ex fide historica sive ex notitia promissionum per efficaciam S.S. nascitur fiducia (trust), quæ est fidei justificantis velut anima, quâ promissiones divinas nobis applicamus, ac certa animi πληροφορία illis innititur. Gerh., De F. J., c. iii., § 1. Fiducia est forma fidei justificantis quatenus certa animi persuasionem promissionem gratiæ amplectimur. *Ibid.*

† Sess. vi., c. 9.

it. In fact, since in our present state (*status viatorum*) our sanctification consists very much in an increasing sense of our sinfulness and our need of gratuitous mercy, it is plain that the more we grow in grace the greater may be our difficulty in assuring ourselves that we are in a state of grace at all. Doubtless the recollection of a time when we neither felt nor lamented the struggle of the old man against the sanctifying principle may lead to the persuasion that some great change must have passed over us, and from this we may draw a favourable conclusion ; but it is doubtful whether assurance or uncertainty will on the whole prevail. The Romish definition of justification was in itself sufficient to ensure the hesitation recommended.

The Christianity of the New Testament is remarkable for the absence of that morbid nosology which occupies a prominent place in the religious literature of modern times, and of which among ancient writers the Confessions of Augustine is a specimen. It consists in fixing attention on the varying emotions of the religious life, carefully noting, perhaps registering, the falls and rises of the spiritual barometer, and analyzing each successive feeling as it arises with microscopic accuracy. It is an unhealthy occupation, because it diverts the mind from the proper *objects* of faith, bright and clear in the heavens, to the impure exhalations which arise in an imperfectly-sanctified heart, and mingle with its best aspirations. Holy affections do not grow by being analyzed, but by contemplating the objects which draw them forth. Self-examination indeed is a duty incumbent on all Christians ; but it should relate rather to moral practice than to feelings or motives, which are of too delicate a nature to bear handling without being soiled. The result of this introspection, as regards a confident hope, is the same as that of the doctrine of Rome. In either case the discoveries are unsatisfactory, and furnish no solid ground for a sense of acceptance with God. It can point to no precedent or sanction in the inspired volume. St. Paul laments his struggle with a sinful nature crucified but not slain, confesses that he had not attained neither was already perfect (Phil. iii. 12), exercised due discipline over the flesh lest it might encroach unawares ; but we never find him expressing a doubt whether he was a child of God and in a state of salvation.* No more do his brother Apostles. An unclouded confidence on these points is their prevailing sentiment. In St. Paul's case the secret of it is made known to us by himself : 'The life which I now live in the

* A 'state of salvation,' by the very force of the words, means not merely the state of one who *may* be saved (*e.g.*, if he makes use of privileges, etc.), but of one who is *actually* at the time saved ; the state of the *σωζομένους* in Acts ii. 47. Whether he will continue so to the end is another question.

flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me' (Gal. ii. 20).

The Scriptural doctrine of assurance must not be confounded with others with which it is by no means identical. Though intimately connected with faith in the sense of trust (*fiducia*), it is not the same thing, for there may be genuine faith where there is no uninterrupted assurance. 'Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief' (Mark ix. 24), is not unfrequently the prevailing temper of mind with many of whose eminent piety there can be no question. The ray from heaven advances straight to its mark, but is liable to be refracted in its necessary passage through a grosser element. Much depends in this matter on constitutional temperament; much, too, on the circumstances in which the Christian may be placed. The voyage of one may be over smooth waters, of another amidst tempests and breakers, which sorely try his faith. And if the Council had intended nothing more than that saving faith is not to be tested by the possession of plenary assurance, it would have been in the right; but its aim is further, it is to make uncertainty the law of the Christian life. Nor, again, ought it to be brought into connection with the doctrine of predestination, as Calvin seems to do in the *Institutes*,* which has not improbably been the occasion of the prejudice entertained in some quarters against the doctrine. Properly it has to do with the present, not with the future. Whether the Christian who enjoys present assurance does so in consequence of being inscribed in the Book of Life is a question incapable of solution, until it be determined that a final fall from such a state of grace is impossible. If it be possible, assurance supplies no infallible proof of election, for only the elect persevere to the end. Now, the Epistle to the Hebrews, in the sixth and tenth chapters, especially the sixth, describes a work of the Spirit, which it is difficult to distinguish from regeneration, and which yet, if lost, is declared to be incapable of recovery. Calvin would reply that, if there was a final declension, this would be proof that the regeneration in question was not real. According to Augustine, it might be real and yet fail, because the special gift of perseverance had not been attached to it. But the predestinarian controversy should be here put out of view. The assurance of present acceptance is one thing, and the assurance of final salvation is another; and it is with the former only that we are concerned. Now that the normal state of the Christian should be a consciousness of peace with God through Christ, a rejoicing in hope of the glory of God, an assurance, especially in tribulation, that 'neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor height, nor

* L. iii., c. 24.

depth, nor any creature, shall be able to separate him from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus' (Rom. viii. 38, 39), is plain from the teaching and examples of the Apostles. The source of it is that special gift of the Gospel dispensation, the witness of the Holy Spirit, on which enough has been said in a preceding section (§ 64). It is His gracious office to bear witness directly, yet not without the co-operation of our own spirit, that we are the children of God. Since it is the *Holy* Spirit who confers the gift, it is incompatible with continuance in sin; and even consent to a single sin will grieve this Divine Guest, and cause Him to withdraw His consolations. And this witness must be maintained by the same means through which it first visited the soul, not by multiplying religious exercises, or dissecting the spiritual emotions, but by abiding in Christ through faith. And as faith admits of various degrees, the stronger our faith the greater our assurance. To go out of ourselves, and to be content to receive all from Christ, is the secret of spiritual peace—a secret which is revealed only to those who are His.*

§ 68. *Degrees.*

As little need was there for the Council to decide, as it did, that justification admits of degrees. 'Those who are thus justified, advancing step by step in virtue, that is, mortifying their carnal affections and growing in holiness, through obedience to the commands of God and of the Church, make progress in justification itself, and are more and more justified, according as it is written, "He who is just, let him be further justified" '† (Rev. xxii. 11). A Church which practically identifies justification with sanctification might have dispensed with this statement. It is admitted on all sides that sanctification exists in different measure, and ought to be continually progressive; and if justification is nothing but sanctification under another name, there is an end of the debate. With the Protestant doctrine the idea is incompatible. As there can be no degrees in natural relationships, as a son cannot be more or less a son of his father; no more can there be in the spiritual relationship between fallen man and God, which we term justification. Forgiveness of sin, if it takes place at all, is complete; so is spiritual adoption, and so in itself is the witness of the Spirit, which testifies of both. And the Church bears witness to this truth, in its profession that there is 'one baptism for the remission of sins.' As we do not repeat

* *Mundus et ratio non capit quam sit cognitio ardua, Christum esse justitiam nostram: ita operum opinio nobis incorporata agnataque et innaturata est.* Luther.

† Sess. vi., c. 10.

baptism, so we neither repeat nor augment the remission of sin which the sacrament symbolizes; we continue it by faith until faith is lost in sight. The doctrine of Rome is founded on its assumption of a first and a second justification.* The first has no element of merit in it, or, if so, it is only a *meritum de congruo*, the preliminary dispositions (including faith as a radix) rendering it *suitable* that God should bestow further grace; up to the infusion of justifying righteousness in the Sacrament of Baptism, the process is of a gratuitous character. So that once only in his life is the sinner justified purely of grace. The second justification follows, and is acquired, not, indeed, without faith (probably *fides caritate formata*†), but primarily by good works, especially such as are enjoined by the Church; and since these good works may be multiplied even to the pitch of works of supererogation, it is obvious that the justification of which they are the cause is capable of increase. Not only so; but they establish a *meritum de condigno*, a claim to acceptance on the score of desert. This doctrine is but ill-concealed under the guise of an inward Divine presence, which is not in itself renewal, but the source thereof, and which, like the Shekinah of old, may manifest itself in different degrees of brightness.‡ The Shekinah was not the Divine presence itself, but the symbol of it; and the fruits of the Holy Spirit are not identical with the indwelling in the heart of that Divine agent. The brightness of the Shekinah might admit of increase, and the fruits and even witness of the Holy Spirit may vary in degree; but both in the one case and in the other the Divine presence, the foundation, remained and remains unchangeable. So here,—the *results* of justification may be more or less, but the gift itself is incapable of growth or improvement. In short, the figment of a first and second justification finds no countenance in Scripture. Whether we take the word actively, as God's declaring the sinner just, or passively, as a justified state, it remains the same throughout. It commences with our being counted righteous on account of a faith which receives the promise and apprehends Christ, and in no part of our Christian course is it more or less than that. The song of the Church triumphant strikes no other chord (Apoc. v. 9). The feeblest

* Possumus doctrinæ causa distinguere justitias. Unam quæ sit gratia et non merces, qualis secundum rei veritatem est illa quâ impius justificatur: alteram, quæ sit merces et gratia, qualis est etiam secundum rei veritatem quâ justus fit justior. Bellarm., De Justif., L. iv., c. 18.

† It is not easy to see what the Council means by 'fide co-operante bonis operibus' (Sess. vi., c. 10). Is faith here regarded as a radix; or as *fides formata*; or is it, in order to avoid the appearance of Pelagianism, another name for Divine grace?

‡ Newman, Justif., L. vi.

Christian is justified equally with the strongest, as the sun shines with equal splendour on the infirm and the healthy. As regards the passage from the Apocalypse (xxii. 11), on which the Council relies, the reading is uncertain; but this is of little moment. If we interpret it of sanctification, the meaning will be, 'He that is pure in heart, let him strive to continue so'; if of justification, 'He that is justified by faith, let him still be so,' for from first to last 'the just shall live by his faith' (Hab. ii. 4).*

§ 69. *Baptismal Justification.*

The instrument, or, to speak more accurately, the channel through which, according to the Council of Trent, justification is conveyed, is the Sacrament of Baptism. Everything up to this point is but preliminary; even the faith required (and faith must in some sense be required, unless the Apostolic testimony is to be entirely ignored) is without a 'form,' *i.e.*, lifeless, inoperative, devoid of saving efficacy; and first, through baptism and the accompanying infusion of love, becomes a living faith, or *fides formata*. The statement of our article is that 'we are justified by faith only,' which seems to exclude not merely 'our own works and deservings,' but every other means—at least, 'before God,' for how we are justified in the sight of man is another question. It is probable, however, that the relation of faith to the sacraments, in the matter of justification, was not the point immediately before the minds of the compilers, but rather its relation to works. Not the less, however, deserving of attention is the former question, especially if the remark of a writer, whose work in former times was a standard one in use at our universities is correct, that 'the doctrine of sacramental justification is justly to be reckoned among the most mischievous of all those practical errors that are in the Church of Rome.'†

That the reception of baptism is incumbent upon all who believe in Christ; that in some sense it is connected with remission of sin (Acts ii. 38; xxii. 16); that it 'is a sign of regeneration, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the Church' (Art. xxvii.); on these points no difference exists between Romanists and Protestants. But the question now before us is, What is its

* Adverbium *ἐν* nupiam significat qualitatis intensionem sed temporis continuationem; non idem quippe valet quod *μᾶλλον* magis, sed *πορρώτερον* ulterius, justificetur. Hollaz, De Justif. Grat., c. viii. 'Yea doubtless, and I count' (at the time of writing) 'all things loss, that I may be found in Christ, not having mine own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ.' Phil. iii. 7-9.

† Burnet, Expos. Art. xi.

office in justification? Is it the means in and by which justification is first made over to the sinner? Or, to put it in another way, is the gift suspended on the receiving of the sacrament, so that before its reception the believer is not in the sight of God a justified person, or not fully justified? We turn to Scripture for an answer, and especially to that portion of it which more than any other bears the appearance of a systematic discussion of the subject (Rom. iii.-viii.). It so happens that in the centre of the argument, as if by anticipation, moved no doubt thereto by the inspiring Spirit, the Apostle Paul deals with this very question, and to elucidate it employs the same typical instance from which he had proved the office of faith in general. 'Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness'; or righteousness was imputed to him on account of his faith. The promise was repeated (Gen. xvii.), and on this occasion the ordinance of circumcision was appointed, to which baptism is supposed to have succeeded. Now, to St. Paul's argument, that the Gentiles equally with the Jews are to be justified by faith, that there was to be one mode of justification for all men, it was important to determine at what time Abraham was pronounced righteous through faith, before or after circumcision. If before, then it would be proof that the uncircumcised Gentiles who believed might also be partakers of the blessing. The point was no collateral one, but entering into the very texture of his reasoning. 'How was it, then, reckoned,' he asks, 'when in circumcision or in uncircumcision?' (Rom. iv. 10). And the answer is, 'Not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision' (*Ibid.*). That is, he was justified in the sight of God (κατέναντι τοῦ Θεοῦ) before he received circumcision. And to place the matter beyond doubt, he explains what was the office and import of circumcision—what place it had in Abraham's justification. He received the sign of circumcision, not as the channel or means of justification, but 'as a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had yet being uncircumcised' (verse 11). If for circumcision we substitute baptism, the Apostle may be supposed to speak thus: He that believes on Christ with a living faith is justified by that faith, and justified before baptism, which sacrament no doubt he, in obedience to Christ's command, subsequently receives. Baptism does not convey the gift, but is a 'sign and seal' of its previous bestowal; even as Abraham, in reference to an inferior promise, but by a faith similar in essence, was counted righteous before God, previously to his receiving the visible seal of the covenant. There is only one way in which the inference might have been obviated. If the Apostle in what follows had cautioned his readers not to argue from circumcision to baptism, had explained that there is

an essential distinction—a distinction affecting the point in question (*some* distinction, of course, there is)—between the two ordinances, had stated that, whereas the one was only a seal, the latter is an instrument, the analogy might have been thought to fail. But, in fact, throughout the whole discussion there is no mention of baptism in connection with justification, nor allusion to any difference between it and circumcision. Baptism is first named in chap. vi., where it is said to be the means, not of justification, but of ‘being buried with Christ,’ whatever that may mean, on which more hereafter. Nothing but faith is spoken of as the channel through which remission of sin is obtained. The initiatory sacrament of the ‘new law’ (as the Council of Trent is wont to describe the Gospel) occupies, for aught that appears to the contrary in this formal exposition of the subject, the same place in reference to faith which the initiatory rite of Judaism did in the instance of Abraham—that of a sign or seal of what had taken place previously, not that of an instrument.

This, then, is the leading passage on the very important question whether baptism conveys or only seals the grace of justification; and instead of its being passed over in silence, as is often the case, or forced to surrender its plain meaning to other passages in which baptism is incidentally mentioned in connection with remission of sin, or which are figurative in character, these others ought to be interpreted so as to fit in with it. Some of them it will be proper to notice. ‘Buried with Him by baptism into death’ (Rom. vi. 4); the figurative nature of the language is established by the next verse, ‘If we have been planted together in the *likeness* of His death, we shall be also in the *likeness* of His resurrection.’ It seems hardly safe to argue from such a passage as this that because baptism is said (in some sense) to unite us to Christ, and union with Christ includes justification as the general includes the particular, therefore baptism conveys justification.* What do we mean by union with Christ? A physical one, such as that which existed between the Siamese twins? Repulsive as such a notion is, it seems the natural consequence of theories which from time to time have been put forward in connection with the Eucharist.† The same Apostle uses still stronger language in Ephes. v. 30, ‘We are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones’; but the context explains what he means. The allusion is to Gen. ii. 24, in which Adam and Eve are said to be ‘one flesh,’ because Eve was taken out of Adam; but as soon as this process was complete Adam and Eve were not physically united. The relation of husband

* Heurtley, B. L., Sermon vii.

† See Wilberforce on the Eucharist, *passim*.

and wife, to which the union of Christ with the Church is compared, is the closest earthly one, but they are not one flesh. Christians are united to Christ by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from Christ, who, as regards 'the substance,' is one with Christ; but this indwelling is, in the order of ideas, subsequent not previous to justification; and baptism is a symbol of that death unto sin and new life unto righteousness of which the Holy Spirit is the Author. But this teaches us nothing respecting the special process of *justification*; and, in fact, the context proves that not this gift but sanctification is what St. Paul is speaking of. These remarks apply in substance to such passages as: 'As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ' (Gal. iii. 27); or, 'Buried with Him in baptism' (Col. ii. 12); or, 'By one spirit we are all baptized into one body' (1 Cor. xii. 13), and, therefore (so runs the argument), into Christ, and, therefore, into a justified state. That the 'one body' here does not mean the aggregate of visible churches into which Christendom is divided is plain from the fact that these churches do not form one body under one Head; they are independent communities, connected indeed by *sameness* of faith, Sacraments, perhaps polity, but their unity is not organic, as of one commonwealth under one visible head; and this alone might suggest that the word 'baptized' may be, and is here to be, taken in a figurative sense.* But let our Lord Himself decide. 'John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence' (Acts i. 5). Here baptism with water is contrasted with baptism with the Holy Ghost; and reference is made to the Pentecostal effusion of the Spirit, which event took place without any administration of water-baptism. Whence we infer that by a figure the word 'baptized' is used by Christ to signify a plentiful spiritual effusion; and if so, it may be, and without doubt is, thus used in 1 Cor. xii. 13. By a similar figure derived from the other Sacrament it is said, 'we have been all made to drink into one Spirit.' But even on the supposition that Christian baptism is intended in the former part of the verse, and that the meaning is, the Holy Spirit by baptism incorporates us into the Body of Christ, and through His Body into Christ Himself, this has no direct bearing on the connection of *justification* with baptism, still less on the question whether or not faith justifies antecedently to that Sacrament. 'Repent and be baptized for the remission of sins' (Acts ii. 38); there is no

* In fact, where the church is described as the Body of Christ under its *invisible* Head Christ (that is, under His Vicar the Holy Ghost), it is the *invisible* church of Protestantism that is meant, not visible Christendom; and *water-baptism* does not incorporate us into the former.

ground for connecting remission of sins with the single word 'baptized,' and not rather with the whole command, 'repent and be baptized'; 'believe, and as a proof of it receive baptism,' and your sins will be forgiven. To which we may add that the same expression is used in reference to John's baptism, which is described as 'a baptism of repentance unto the remission of sins' (Mark i. 4); yet that a justifying power was attached to John's baptism is not usually held. How, indeed, could it be so attached before the Atonement and the Resurrection were accomplished facts? 'Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins' (Acts xxii. 16); this adds little to the previous passage, except a more direct allusion to baptism in the words 'wash away thy sins,' which take the place of 'for the remission of sins.' But we must compare this condensed account with the fuller one, Acts ix. 17-18: 'Ananias went his way and entered into the house, and putting his hands on him said, Brother Saul, the Lord, even Jesus, that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. And immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales, and he received sight forthwith, and arose and was baptized.' The apparent order is, that Ananias laid his hands on Saul; that the latter there and then 'received the Holy Ghost,' and then, as the last step, was baptized. It is difficult to conceive that one who had been spiritually enlightened, and had received the sealing of the Holy Spirit, nevertheless was not, in the sight of God, justified by the remission of sin until he had been baptized.

Such is the state of the Scripture evidence. On the one hand we have a dogmatical statement in Rom. iv. 10, 11 on the point expressly raised, on the other we have no passage in which it is unequivocally laid down that baptism justifies. It is not to the point to urge that baptism is said to 'save' (1 Pet. iii. 21), that the Church is cleansed 'with the washing of water by the Word' (Ephes. v. 26), that baptism is the saving 'laver of regeneration' (Tit. iii. 5), that it brings us into union with Christ: the expressions, salvation, cleansing by the Word and Sacrament, union with Christ, do not enable us to say that baptism is, in the strict and definite sense of the term, the instrument of *justification*. Indeed, we may ask, how could circumcision, and how can baptism, be supposed to *add* anything to the justification already effected by the reception of the promise and testified to by the Spirit, unless in the way of infusion of a special grace; which latter notion transforms the Sacrament into something like a magical charm? It will hardly be denied that justification is, to say the least, *begun* by appropriation of the promise; faith and the promise are correlative

terms ; but since it is a judicial act on God's part, if begun it must be *ipso facto* complete ; if God *declares* the sinner justified on account of his faith, He does it once for all, and the declarative act cannot be severed into two parts, one belonging to faith, and the other to a subsequent instrument. Baptism, therefore, cannot add to the virtue of the declarative act, but it may and it does visibly announce to the Church that this act is presumed to have taken place in the particular instance ; it may and it does symbolize, seal, and confirm to the recipient the same truths of remission and sanctification which the Word had previously proclaimed ; it is the visible sign of the *appropriation* of the promise which the Word could only convey in general terms. In all these respects it is, as the ancients term it, a *verbum visibile*, a *declaration* under a special form, necessary to the *confirmation* of the candidate's faith, and to the existence of a visible Church. But it is a *verbum visibile*, not as if it stood alone, but because the Word explains its meaning and use ; otherwise it would be an unmeaning ceremony. That is, it is a repetition of the promise under a new form ; a form indicating *application* of the promise instead of its general promulgation. It does not, therefore, and cannot, supplement or transfigure into something else the previous declaration of God within Himself, conveyed to the believer by the witness of the Spirit. What it adds must be of the *same character* as the act of Divine acceptance, viz., a declaration ; and it can convey nothing higher, or different in kind, as compared with the Word, although it is the symbol of appropriation, whereas the Word is only the instrument of general promise. In short, a rite is not the proper instrument of applying a declarative judgment, though it may be of conferring a gift ; the Word is an appropriate means, but it needs baptism to individualize it. The Romish theory of a *special* infusion of grace in baptism renders it possible to sever the Divine declarative act from this infusion, and so to make baptism the proper formal cause of justification, and, as a consequence, to treat the justification which is by faith as only an inchoate and imperfect one, if any at all. And what, then, is the faith which is still allowed some place in the process ? It is not the faith which directly apprehends the promises of God in Christ, but faith in the Sacrament, a 'desire' for the Sacrament, an intention to receive the Sacrament ; that is, the Sacrament becomes the real source of salvation.

Baptism, too, partakes of the imperfection which belongs to all ordinances entrusted to the church to administer to individuals. When it is said that *God* conveys justification in baptism, what can this mean but that He has appointed it as a means of grace, not that he administers the sacrament Himself (were it so the sacrament

would be an infallible token of regeneration) ; but since the Church cannot read the heart, and takes men at their profession, it may be, and often is, administered to those who are destitute of the proper qualifications. It is no certain proof, therefore, that the baptized person is accepted by God ; though if he is accepted it ministers to important needs which cannot be supplied in any other way. If, indeed, the Sacrament works *ex opere operato*, and there is no bar to its effects except mortal sin, this difficulty may be alleviated, but not otherwise.

To come closer to the point ;—justification, in its proper sense, as the act of God's declaring the sinner pardoned, is a transaction between the soul and God, with which the visible church has nothing to do, except in the ministration of the Word. The office of the church begins with the Word preached, and it is resumed again at baptism ; what lies between, viz., the faith which apprehends the promise, and the witness of the Spirit, is hidden from man, but it comprises nothing less than justification. It is important here to observe the relation of the sealing, or earnest, of the Holy Spirit to baptism : it has no established connection with this Sacrament ; sometimes, as in the instance of Cornelius, the gift preceded baptism ; generally it followed, and not baptism, but the laying on the Apostles' hands was the regular means of conveyance, of which we have a striking example in Acts viii., where we read that Peter and John were sent to lay hands on the baptized Samaritans that 'they might receive the Holy Ghost, for as yet He was fallen upon none of them ; only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus' (vv. 15, 16). And so the Ephesian disciples, who had received only John's baptism, were first baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus—'and when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came upon them' (Acts xix. 6). For our present purpose these latter passages are not to the point, for it may be said that the persons mentioned were first justified in baptism, and then received the Spirit ; they do, however, prove that the gift of the Holy Ghost might be disconnected from the Sacrament. But it is otherwise with the case of Cornelius. It is difficult to conceive that, if he and his friends were not in the sight of God justified, they should have received, antecedently to baptism, the special attestation of the Holy Ghost. Justified no doubt he was before he received baptism ; and so was Lydia, 'whose heart the Lord opened,' to attend to Paul's preaching ; and so was the gaoler of Philippi, who received the announcement in faith, 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' But this hidden transaction between God and the soul needs to be brought out into light, and to be professed before men ; needs it for the individual's own sake, as well as for the maintenance of a

visible church in the world, 'to be, like a city upon a hill, a standing memorial to the world of the duty which we owe our Maker ; to call men continually, both by example and instruction, to attend to it, and, by the form of religion ever before their eyes, to remind them of the reality ; to be the repository of the oracles of God ; to hold up the light of revelation in aid to that of nature, and propagate it throughout all generations to the end of the world.*' The individual needs it for his own sake, to prove the sincerity and energy of his faith both to himself and others. It is one thing to cherish religious sentiments in private, it is another to be willing to take up the cross and suffer for Christ's sake ; and this, on the supposition that water baptism is intended, appears to be the true meaning of John iii. 5. Nicodemus was a well-disposed man, inclined to become a disciple, but not prepared to encounter the obloquy which he knew must ensue if he publicly professed faith in Christ ; he, therefore, 'came to Jesus by night,' hoping to escape observation ; but, on the threshold of discussion, he was met by the announcement, that except a man be not only born of the Spirit (regeneration in its inward aspect), but submit to be born of water (regeneration in its outward aspect), he cannot be recognised as a disciple ; in other words : no disciple of Christ must be ashamed of the Gospel, or shrink from professing it. It is well known that among Jews or heathens, a man may be an inquirer or, as we should call him, a catechumen, without incurring the enmity of his co-religionists ; let him announce his intention to be baptized and carry out his intention, and, thenceforth, he is an excommunicated man, and has to suffer accordingly. For his own sake, too, because, if he does not join himself to the existing visible society of Christians, he will be deprived of the mutual help, sympathy, and edification which the society is intended to promote ; to say nothing of the means of grace which, with the exception of the ministration of the Word, he cannot approach. The society cannot recognise anyone as a member who does not consent to pass through the act of initiation. In fact, his refusal to do so ought to lead himself, and may well lead others, to doubt the sincerity of his faith ; it is an open act of disobedience to the command of the Master whom he professes inwardly to love and serve. Submission to baptism is also necessary to the maintenance of the church, because, if professing Christians might dispense with it, there would soon exist no visible church in the world. And so the order of things must ever be that prescribed by St. Paul, 'with the heart man believeth unto righteousness' (*δικαιοσύνη*, the very term used in Romans for justification), 'and with the mouth con-

* Butler, Anal., P. ii., c. 1.

fession is made unto salvation' (Rom. x. 10); the justified state in itself inward and hidden, must be 'confessed' in and by baptism. These considerations, apart from any others, sufficiently explain why baptism is spoken of in such exalted terms: as burying with Christ, as saving, as the laver of regeneration, as connected with remission of sin, etc. (though never plainly as *justifying*); in the eye of the Church it is all these, for it is the only evidence which the Church can have of participation in these blessings. To the Church it is the very door into communion with the body of Christ, the marriage ring, the seal attached to the deed of conveyance, the token of the covenant, or by whatever other similar figures we describe it. And thus, perhaps, are Hooker's words, so often quoted, to be understood. 'We hold it to be the door of our *actual* entrance into God's house, the first *apparent* beginning of life, a seal, perhaps, to the grace of election before received, but to our *sanctification* here a step that hath not any before it.* It is not contended that its office extends no further than what is contained in the foregoing remarks. Spiritual effects may flow from it which we can but partially understand; 'we know in part, and we prophesy in part.' Our Church contents herself with describing baptism as the means of grafting into the (visible) Church; as visibly signing and sealing the promises of forgiveness of sin and of our adoption to be the sons of God (which, therefore, are presupposed to be already inwardly in existence); of confirming faith; of increasing grace (though as regards this last effect, she, seemingly of set purpose, reminds us that it is 'by virtue of prayer to God'). All this may freely be conceded. But neither does Scripture, nor Art. xi., nor the homily to which the Article refers us, speak of it as the special instrument of *justification* in the sight of God.†

* Eccl. Pol., V., c. 60, § 3.

† Such modifications, then, of the genuine Protestant doctrine as the following do not commend themselves: 'In adults faith is instrumental to our incorporation into Christ, in that it leads us cordially to close with the terms of the Gospel *covenant*.' It does more; it is the act of apprehending the special promise of forgiveness of sin through Christ. 'God does in and by baptism incorporate the baptized person, as a living member, into Christ's mystical body.' Baptism does not incorporate into Christ's mystical body, the 'invisible' Church of Protestantism, but into the visible Church. 'Faith converts the simple washing into an efficacious sacrament, and turns the water into blood.' That is, it makes us capable of receiving the sacrament; or in other words, it is not the direct means of receiving remission of sins, but of leading to the sacrament for that purpose. 'The time of baptism is the date from which our justification reckons. No man is ordinarily justified before baptism, and whoever receives baptism rightly is in baptism admitted into a state of justification.' 'If baptism is the instrument on God's part, faith is the instrument on ours. As baptism is the sole instrument in one sense, faith is the sole instrument in the other. Nor do we at all derogate from the doctrine that we

Adult baptism, with its qualifications, repentance and faith, is that intended in these remarks. It is so because it is the normal case of Scripture; the one on which alone we can found any trustworthy conclusions respecting the relation of baptism to faith, or to regeneration with its subordinate divisions of conversion and justification. To commence with infant baptism, the ecclesiastical modification of the ordinance, and to reason on it as if it were the normal case of Scripture, can only lead to unwarranted assumptions, perhaps error. This exceptional form of baptism, however justly to be retained in the Churches, is deficient in the pre-requisites for a complete baptism, and the defect must make us cautious in our assertions. The Lutheran doctrine of the *fides infantum* is an instance of the straits to which learned men are driven when they attempt to put infant baptism on all-fours with adult. The truth is, we know but little, because we are told but little, of the spiritual state of infants, or of the effects of their baptism. In Scripture justification pre-supposes a conscious subject, capable of repentance and faith; it pre-supposes not merely the remission of original sin, a matter enveloped in mystery, but of actual sins, of which infants are incapable. Whether repentance and faith may be dispensed with in the case of infants, or how far, or whether something analogous may be supposed in them, Scripture does not decide; they are interesting speculations, but can make no pretensions to dogmatical authority. Perhaps, then, it is better to avoid applying the term 'justification' to infants. There is no need of our so doing. Baptized, or even unbaptized, infants dying before actual sin,* we

are justified by faith only when we teach that faith *attains its end for the first time in baptism*. . . . St. Paul teaches the same doctrine when he refers to the time of baptism as the date at which their' (the Corinthians. See 1 Cor. vi. 11, which does not seem to the point) 'justification commenced.'—Heurtley, B. L., Serm. vii. These last words disclose the result to which the whole tends. It is a modified form of the Romish doctrine—viz., that the office of faith is only to lead up to the sacrament in which justification is really conferred. This is faith in the sacrament, not directly in Christ. And it tends, too, to make justification not a declarative act of God assuring the soul directly of forgiveness, but an infused grace, as the schools and the Council of Trent teach. For if a *rite* justifies, how can it be otherwise than by an infusion of some sort? Undue undervaluing of the sacraments is a danger to be avoided; but into the sacred precincts of justification in the sight of God, either in its commencement or its continuance, they must not, if the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith is to be maintained, be allowed to intrude.

* If the infant comes to years of discretion, how is the justification received in baptism maintained? By faith, it is replied; that is, the justification is begun without faith and by a rite, and continued by faith. It would seem that to render the process homogeneous it should be continued by rites of the church—e.g., the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist.

may be persuaded, are saved, through the atonement of Christ applied to them in some way unknown to us.

§ 70. *Purgatory in Relation to Justification.*

The Romish doctrine of purgatory must not be confounded with the belief of spiritual progress in the intermediate state, against which latter no objection from reason or Scripture can be urged. If the soul survives its separation from the body, and if it exists, not in a state of unconscious slumber (ψυχωπαύνησις) as some in ancient and modern times have held, but with its moral and intellectual faculties in activity, the inference seems to be that between death and the final judgment there must be progress, either in the one direction or the other.* But the doctrine of the Roman schools is of a different character. It is forensic in nature, and implies the payment of a debt not fully discharged in this life. It rests on the distinction between mortal and venial sin. Mortal sin can only be remitted through the sacrament of penance, and if not thus remitted it consigns the sinner to everlasting punishment. Venial sin does not sever connection with Christ, nor destroy the grace of charity infused at baptism;† hence it does not involve eternal consequences; but since it is sin, satisfaction must be made for it, either in this life by self-imposed acts of penance, or, in case the account has not been fully squared, by temporary suffering in the intermediate state. This, however, may be shortened by placing to the credit of the suffering soul the superfluous merits of certain saints; of which treasure the Pope possesses the key, and dispenses it, according as he thinks fit, under the name of indulgences.

The distinction between mortal and venial sin (with one exception, the nature of which has never been clearly made out, Matt. xii. 32), the one being different *in nature (genere)* from the other, finds no warranty in Scripture. All sin is in itself a transgression of the law (ἀνομία, 1 John iii. 4), and the law makes no distinction, in the matter of justification, between the thought of the heart and the overt act (Matt. v. 28), between so-called sins of infirmity and deliberate sin. For even the former must not be regarded as casual acts, but as the consequence of that original corruption of nature which, until the guilt of it is removed, affects

* See § 107.

† Cum voluntas fertur in aliquid quod secundum se repugnat caritati, illud peccatum ex suo objecto habet quod sit mortale, unde est mortale genere. Quandoque vero voluntas peccantis fertur in id quod in se continet quandam inordinationem non tamen contrariam dilectioni Dei et proximi, sicut verbum otiosum, risus superfluus, etc.; et talia sunt peccata venialia ex suo genere. T. Aquin., I. secund., Quæst. lxxxviii., A. 2.

the whole position of the person in the sight of God. All the actings of this corrupt nature are sinful, though not equally so, and all need to be covered by the atoning Blood of Christ. In this instance, as in others, Romanism looks more to the outward act than to the inward affection; whereas we hold that concupiscence itself is of the nature of sin (Art. xi.). The involuntary motions of this concupiscence are, in the case of the regenerate, put away from the sight of God, not because in themselves they do not deserve condemnation, but because, in answer to the prayer which our Lord has taught us to use, they are immediately forgiven for Christ's sake. The voluntary sins of the regenerate belong to another category; unquestionably they tend towards a severance from Christ, or at least a forfeiture of Christian privileges. As regards the unregenerate, the absence of a personal interest in the work of Christ leaves them under condemnation, even for corrupt tendencies which may not pass into open breaches of the moral law. On the whole—if venial be taken in the sense of pardonable, all sin, whether of the regenerate or the unregenerate (save the one mentioned above) is venial; but if in the sense of not being in itself liable to condemnation, no sin is venial: in either case, the distinction is untenable. All sin, if repented of, may be pardoned; but no sin, in its own proper nature, apart from the atoning work of Christ, can lay claim to remission.

The distinction is Pelagian in tendency, and like all forms of that heresy, it issues in fostering a low standard of Christian morality. If there are some sins which in themselves are venial, that is, which in the sight of God are not sin, the absolute requirements of the Divine law are lowered to meet the weakness of human nature; a result which, as we have seen, also follows from the doctrine that the formal cause of justification is in ourselves, and not in Christ. The sense of sin, so invariable a feature of Christian piety, especially in its more advanced stages, gives place to acquiescence in present attainments; the ideal of sanctity is lost; and religious practice sinks to the level of civil morality, or even lower. Worse still, empirical classifications of sin, with a graduated scale of demerit and penalty, are framed;* as if it were in the power of man to draw lines of demarcation with certainty in matters which are in a state of continual flux. The circumstances of each action can be known only to Omniscience. The passage of Scripture which is sometimes cited as

* *Est mortale in genere, sive sit contra dilectionem Dei, sicut blasphemia, perjurium, et hujusmodi; sive contra dilectionem proximi, sicut homicidium, adulterium, et similia. Peccata venialia sunt verbum otiosum, risus superfluous, et alia hujusmodi. T. Aquin., I. secund., Q. lxxxviii., Art. 2.* By Romanists seven sins are enumerated as deadly—incontinency, wrath, avarice, idleness, envy, pride, gluttony.

establishing a distinction between various kinds of sin (1 John v. 16) is not to the point. All sins, the Apostle says, may be made the subject of intercessory prayer ; all except one which is not clearly defined, but which seems to resemble that of Matt. xii. 32. Such classifications of sin tend to produce a corrupt casuistry in morals, and are intimately connected with the traffic in indulgences, which, more than anything else, was the occasion of the great division of the sixteenth century.

It by no means follows that if the Romish distinction be disallowed all sins must be held equal—an inference which has been charged on some of Luther's expressions, but appears in none of the Protestant Confessions.* It is plain from such passages as Matt. x. 15, xii. 31, 32 ; Luke xii. 47, 48, that such a notion is untenable. Common-sense dictates that the sins of David or Peter cannot be placed in the same category with the infirmities for which the just man daily seeks pardon. But it does not follow that these infirmities are not sins, but that graver transgressions, unrepented of, must expect a heavier penalty, as our Lord intimated when He declared that it would be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment than for Chorazin and Bethsaida (Matt. xi. 22). Yet the sins of Chorazin and Bethsaida were not in their nature venial.

And as the distinction in the Romish sense is unscriptural, so the future purgatory provided for the full expiation of venial sin is 'a fond thing vainly invented' (Art. xxii.). Both mortal and venial sin are in this life forgiven, if they are forgiven at all, on one only ground—viz., the sacrifice once offered on the cross ; nor is the sinner required to complete the efficacy of this sacrifice by acts of penance, whether self-imposed or prescribed by the Church. The blood of Christ cleanses, where it cleanses at all, from all sin, and completely ; not merely from the guilt of overt sin, but from that of the concupiscence whence it springs. It is not necessary, and this is not the place, to enter into the question whether sins may be forgiven in a future state. If they can be, we may be sure it will be on the same ground and to the same extent as is the case here. The theory is, that although the venial sins are repented of and the individual has never lost the grace of justification, the temporal satisfaction due to such sins has not been exhausted. We reply that by the act of justifying faith all demands were met, and the believer passes into paradise absolved by the sentence of God Himself. No masses, no

* *Omne peccatum proprie sic dictum sua natura est mortale, quia avopía, legi repugnans, eoque maledictionem legis promerens : nec tamen omnia peccata sunt æqualia, etsi nullum sua natura, sine Christi gratia, sit veniale.* Decl. Thorun. de Pecc.

suffrages of the church, are needed to shorten the duration of pains which in fact never were incurred, and the alleged necessity of which is founded only on inadequate views of the great atonement. To carry *penal* consequences of sin supposed to be here forgiven into a future state is to detract seriously from the sufficiency of Christ's atoning work, and rob the Christian of all peace in the prospect of dissolution.

It must be repeated that this question relates to justification, not to sanctification; or, in other words, that purgatory is considered not merely as a stage of purification, preparing the soul for the perfect bliss of heaven, but as a supplementary process, rendered necessary by the fact that the penal consequences of sin have not been wholly removed by faith in Christ. The two aspects of the question are sometimes confounded,* but they should be kept distinct. God, the argument runs, does indeed on repentance and faith remit the eternal penalty of sin, but He still exacts temporal penalties, either in this world or the next. We see, for example, that the Christian's faith does not exempt him from death, the penalty of sin; and instances occur in Scripture, such as David and others, in which God, after pardoning the sin, nevertheless inflicted retributive sufferings in this world. 'The Lord hath put away thy sin, thou shalt not die. Howbeit, because by this deed thou hast given occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme, the child that is born to thee shall die' (2 Sam. xii. 13, 14). And it is matter of daily experience that the temporal consequences of sin committed in an unregenerate state are not always, on a spiritual change, reversed. Now, argues Bellarmine, since it may and does happen that the whole of this life is not sufficient to exhaust such temporal punishment, there must exist a future state or place in which the deficiency is supplied.† But, even if it were allowed that the great atonement does not meet all demands, who can take it upon himself to say that the chastisements of this life have not been sufficient for the purpose? What mortal can determine the more or less of a sin or the exact amount of retribution which it deserves? What we do know from Scripture is that the souls of those who depart in the Lord pass into Abraham's bosom (Luke xvi. 22), or paradise (*ibid.*, xxiii. 43); that they rest from their labours (Rev. xiv. 13); that it is gain to them to die (Phil. i. 21); from which surely the inference is that death, the

* Thus Bellarmine defines purgatory as *locus quidam in quo tanquam in carcere post hanc vitam purgantur animæ, quæ in hac non plene purgatæ fuerunt; ut nimirum sic purgatæ in cælum ingredi valeant, quo nihil intrabit coinquinatum.* De Purg., L. i., c. 1. It is not made clear from what they are purged—from remaining imperfection, or remaining guilt, or both.

† De Purg., i., c. 11.

consummation of natural evil, discharges the last fraction, if there remain such, of the debt then unpaid. But, in truth, it is under a very different aspect that Scripture speaks of the temporal calamities of Christians. Not as a satisfaction for sin, but as the discipline of their heavenly Father to wean them from the world and to exercise faith and patience, is the light in which such trials are represented. The analogy, then, fails. There is nothing in the fact that in this life sin is frequently visited with chastisement to lead us to infer that so it must be with the blessed departed. Theirs is a state, as Romanists themselves teach, in which, the *fomes* of original sin being deposited with the body,* temptation has no longer any material to work upon, and the progress, if such there be, is only from a lower to a higher stage of purity and bliss.

The tenet of purgatory is a particular application of the general doctrine of Rome on the nature of repentance. In early writers the words 'confession' and 'satisfaction' are connected with ecclesiastical discipline, and bear a scriptural meaning. Those who had been guilty of grave moral offences, or who in time of persecution had lapsed, were excluded from the communion of the Church until they had been brought to repentance for their sin and desired readmission to Christian privileges. After a period of probation, if they continued of the same mind, the Church received them again within her pale, but marked the event by a public ceremony. Since they had caused open scandal it was proper that satisfaction should be made to the Church, both by a public confession of their sins and by restitution if wrong had been done. The beginning of Lent was the time usually appointed for the public reception of such penitents. But this penitential institute had reference to public discipline, and was merely an application of the rules laid down by our Lord Himself (Matt. xviii. 15-18) and His Apostles (1 Cor. v.). In lapse of time public confession before the Church became private sacramental confession to the priest, and satisfaction assumed the character of a transaction between God and the soul. The forgiveness of sin in the sight of God depended no longer on internal affections of the heart, but on priestly absolution, with its enjoined acts of satisfaction; hence the incongruous addition of confession and satisfaction to contrition to make up the idea of repentance. Since the present life might not be long enough to complete the tale, the future lent its aid; and purgatory, with its attendant

* *Fomes tollitur in morte, quia tum extinguitur sensualitas.* Bellarm., De Purg., L. ii., c. 9. *Pii, ut in morte a peccati radice ac fomite purgantur, ita quoque ab omnibus peccati pœnis perfecte liberantur.* J. Gerh., Loc. xxvii., § 199.

train of pardons, indulgences, and masses for the repose of the departed, became an acknowledged doctrine of the Church.

The Romish theologians are hard put to it to establish their doctrine on Scriptural evidence. Bellarmine has recourse to 2 Macc., c. 12, a book which the Jews never admitted into their Canon. He relies, too, on Matt. xii. 32: 'It shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the world to come,' whereas in purgatory sins are supposed to be forgiven, though after a certain amount of suffering. And on 1 Cor. iii. 13: 'The fire shall try every man's work,' in which passage the Apostle is speaking not of sins, but of certain teachers, who on a good foundation had raised an edifice of questionable character. The fire, either of persecution in this life or of the final judgment, will determine which was the gold and which the dross. So scanty, indeed, is the Scripture proof, or, rather, so completely does it fail, that Möhler, the most distinguished modern controversialist on the Romish side, passes as lightly as he can over this delicate topic, contenting himself with the charge that 'Protestants presumptuously reject the well-grounded tradition of a purgatorial fire.' This able writer, as is not uncommon, confounds the two senses of future purification, which may mean either a growth in likeness to the Divine image or satisfaction for sin not completely discharged in this life. 'With some purification is in this life complete' (are they to be supposed sinless?); 'with others it is only completed hereafter, the latter being such as, though in real fellowship with Christ, leave the world not wholly transformed into His image.*' The Protestant replies that, as regards the former case, no one in this life attains to sinlessness; and as regards the latter, although, in the absence of direct Scripture statement, we dare not advance beyond conjecture, the presumption is that death removes all actual sin, while progression in a holy state is not at all improbable. He may ask, too, How are the millions who die on the eve of Christ's coming to find time for their purgatorial satisfaction? and especially, What substitute shall we assign to the quick, who pass at once to perfect bliss without dying at all?

REGENERATION.

§ 71. *Definition.*

Regeneration in the sight of God, that is, in its essential aspect, is the union of conversion and justification in an individual. It implies a change of relation towards God in justification, and also a change of will and affections in reference to the demands of

* Symbolik, § 23.

the Divine law, or what Scripture calls a new heart ; the person in whom these are combined is a regenerate person. Negatively it is the crucifixion of the flesh with its affections and lusts ; positively it is the new life in Christ. It follows that if the word is to be taken in its full Scriptural sense, it means more than a mere ecclesiastical change of position ; and more, too, than a mere mystical change, or one wrought, indeed, by the Spirit of God, but not necessarily involving moral renovation.

The word *παλιγγενεσία*, or regeneration, occurs but twice in the New Testament : once in connection with spiritual renewal (Tit. iii. 5), and once to denote the new state of things which the advent of Christ is to introduce (Matt. xix. 28). These passages do not throw much light on the meaning of the word ; but the equivalent terms which are employed in Scripture do. The most usual synonym is the metaphorical expression—new birth. To Nicodemus it was declared that no one, unless born again, can enter the kingdom of God, or be in a state of salvation ; and as to the Author of this change—it is directly referred to the Holy Spirit, being distinguished thereby from other changes which are within the powers of human nature. The distinction between ‘born of the flesh’ and ‘born of the Spirit’ is one not of degree, but of kind : the natural man, however, adorned with moral graces, is flesh ; the spiritual man is from above (*ἄνωθεν*) (John iii. 3-6). As an illustration of what is meant by the new birth, we may compare 2 Cor. v. 17, ‘If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature ; old things are passed away, all things,’ affections, aims, hopes, as well as ecclesiastical standing, ‘have become new.’ The change implies as great a miracle as if it were a bodily resurrection, ‘You hath He quickened who were dead in trespasses and sins,’ and quickened to a new life (Ephes. ii. 1 ; Rom. vi. 11). ‘He that is born of God,’ we are told, ‘doth not commit sin ; he cannot sin’ (wilfully and habitually) ‘because he is born of God’ (1 John iii. 9) ; and again, ‘Whosoever is born of God sinneth not’ (*ibid.*, v. 18). By St. Peter the Word of God is declared to be the, or an, instrument of regeneration (1 Pet. i. 23) ; and since the Word can only operate as a moral instrument, or one which appeals to the reason and conscience, its effect, when it is effectual, is of a moral nature, viz., repentance and faith ; which, therefore, must form constituent elements of regeneration. In short, an habitual sinful state, whether it exhibits itself openly or consists in the secret alienation of the heart from God, is inconsistent with the full Scriptural import of the term.

Further, Christians are described as the sons of God, children of God ; obviously because of their being born from above ; and if the new birth involves a moral change, not less so, it would seem,

does this filial relation. It is replied, however, that this does not necessarily follow, because the term is sometimes predicated of those whom we cannot suppose to be all led by the Spirit of God. Thus, all men are said to be by creation the 'offspring of God' (Acts xvii. 28), and the Jewish people collectively received the title of adoption, 'Israel is my son, my first-born' (Exod. iv. 22). But the meaning of Scriptural terms varies with the dispensation to which they belong; as may be seen in the instances of election, sanctification, temple, priesthood, sacrifice, etc., which bear one sense in the Jewish, and another, though an analogous one, in the Christian, dispensation. In general, the term child signifies in Scripture either similarity of some kind to a person or thing, or a relation of special privilege. Thus, men are the offspring of God, because they alone of the animal creation are endowed with reason and a moral sense, which of themselves are sufficient to lead them to see the folly and sin of idolatry. The children of Belial, or of the devil, are those who resemble Satan in disposition; the children of light, or of darkness, are those whose lives are holy or sinful respectively. Zacchæus was a Jew by birth; but when, on his conversion, he was described as 'a son of Abraham,' it was because he had become a follower of the patriarch in faith and newness of life. Under the typical dispensation, the Jewish nation was brought into covenant with God, and enjoyed remarkable privileges; which entitled it to the designation 'son of God,' as contrasted with the heathens around it. But the term was national rather than individual, and partook of the inferiority of the preparatory economy. Like the dispensation itself, it was typical of good things to come; a shadow of them, but not the very substance. So far, indeed, as it extended, it expressed a special relation to Jehovah, and the possession of real spiritual advantages; to Israel belonged 'the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises' (Rom. ix. 4). But it did not imply individual regeneration. Transferred to the Gospel dispensation it at once assumed a deeper meaning. The gift of the Holy Spirit, the fruit of Christ's atonement, as *the principle and basis* of a religious communion, was a new revelation (John vii. 39); and informed the typical language of the old covenant with substance and life. A child, or a son, of God is now one who is led by the Spirit of God, one who by the Spirit cries, 'Abba, Father'; 'if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His.' Christ came, St. Paul says, 'to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons,' in a different and higher sense than was vouchsafed to the Jew (Gal. iv. 6). To sum up: It is impossible, under the Christian dispen-

sation, that anyone can be a child of God and a child of the devil at the same time.

From this some conclusions seem to follow. Regeneration, it is plain, does not consist merely in remission of sin, though it necessarily involves it so far as remission of sin is equivalent to justification. It implies also conversion, or a new heart, or by whatever name we choose to call the inward change denoted by the term, new birth. It is only in the order of ideas that these elements can be separated, and, in fact, they always go together. Whomsoever Christ justifies them He also renews. In the case of adults, the normal one of Scripture, this is evident, for no one was admitted to baptism except on the presumption of repentance and faith. That of infants presents greater difficulty. The validity of infant baptism, as a practice of the Church, being allowed, the only sin which can be therein remitted is original sin; which, accordingly, is supposed to be the effect of the Sacrament in this case. What is there in infants which can correspond to the qualifications required in adults for baptism? Nothing; as is fully admitted by strenuous advocates of infant regeneration. It is obvious that infants cannot fulfil these conditions precedent; but neither is it asserted that baptism infuses into them holy dispositions; indeed, this is denied.* Morally, therefore, they remain in a neutral condition, to be determined in one way or the other if they survive. Surely, their regeneration, if the term may be applied to them, is not what Scripture understands by it.

Again, regeneration is more than a change of state, with which change, as is evident, no spiritual renovation is necessarily connected. We must distinguish between a change of relation towards God, and a change of relation towards man or the visible Church. The latter takes place when, by the sacrament of baptism, a person, whether adult or infant, becomes a recognised member of a Christian society, and is severed from the mass of heathenism. It is a change, and an important one, of relative condition; but is it of necessity one towards God? If it were so, then every secret unbeliever who should receive baptism would thereby become a child of God and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven, that is, receive the gift of regeneration. In the case of

* 'He may question me, respecting the regeneration of infants, whether I believe that a *moral* change takes place in them. Without the slightest hesitation, however, I answer I do *not*; and for this plain reason, because I am persuaded the thing itself is impossible, morality and immorality being alike incompatible with their state of being.' Abp. Laurence, 'Efficacy of Baptism,' P. ii. (Quoted by Mozley, Bapt. Cont., p. 58.) 'Infants, indeed, are sanctified in a certain sense, but not in the sense of proper renewal of mind and heart.' Waterland, Summary of Justif., vol. vi., 7. The writer does not explain in what sense they are sanctified.

a qualified candidate justification, received through faith and attested by the witness of the Spirit, has already changed his relation towards God; and God does not need the Sacrament to assure Him of His own act. It is man who needs it, as a seal of the gift previously bestowed, and as the door of entrance to those other means of grace which Christ has committed to the administration of the visible Church. In the sight of God a mere ecclesiastical change of position, apart from the inward change of which the Holy Spirit is the Author, is of no value to justify, and, therefore, is not regeneration, which is always of salutary effect: so far is the former from being in itself salutary, it may be 'a savour of death unto death,' on the principle that privileges despised or neglected turn to condemnation.

Nor, again, does regeneration consist in a mystical grace of the Spirit, distinct from the qualifications required in adults for baptism, and from the effects which follow if the baptized person avails himself of his privileges—a mystical effect specially attached to baptism. It is variously described as 'the principle of a new life,' 'a special gift of the Spirit,' 'an initiatory gift or earnest of the Spirit,' 'the covenanted consignation of the Holy Ghost,' 'the infused virtue of the Holy Ghost,' 'a potential faculty of renovation,' and the like.* Ordinarily it is conveyed only through one channel—baptism. But (and this is the point to be noticed) it does not imply, or necessarily lead to, habits of actual goodness.† It occupies an intermediate position between the moral qualifications of repentance and faith and the moral effects to which the gift is intended to lead.‡ That a grace of the Holy Spirit should be neutral in moral tendency seems like a contradiction in terms, and certainly finds no warrant in Scripture. Under the new dispensation the gifts of the Spirit are manifold (1 Cor. xii.), but they are all intended for the edification of the Church, and their beneficial exercise rests on the presumption that their possessor is under the ordinary regenerating influence of the Holy Ghost. To take one of the definitions above mentioned, that this gift is 'an earnest of the Spirit,'§ it is difficult

* Bp. Bethell, Bapt. Reg., Note A.

† 'The spiritual life is mysteriously communicated in the sacrament.' 'Regeneration and the circumcision of the heart are spoken of' (in Scripture) 'as graces entirely distinct.' Bethell, *ibid.*

‡ 'Our Church has kept close to the language and sentiments of Christian antiquity, distinguishing the sacramental grace from the qualifications which it requires and the effects which it is intended to produce.' Bethell, c. xii.

§ 'The grant and earnest of the Holy Spirit as a principle of new life.' 'The initiatory or earnest of the Spirit.' 'Conveying over to us the mysterious earnest of the Holy Ghost.' 'Regeneration uniformly signifies the gift, or earnest, of the Holy Ghost.' Bethell, Note A. Regeneration does always include the earnest of the Spirit, but can this 'earnest' exist without 'circumcision of the heart'?

to reconcile the notion of this earnest's being a mere mystical grace with such passages as these : ' We ourselves which have the first-fruits ' (or earnest) ' of the Spirit groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, the redemption of our body ' (Rom. viii. 23); ' we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened, not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life. Now He that hath wrought us for the self-same thing is God, who also hath given unto us the earnest of the Spirit ' (2 Cor. v. 4, 5); ' In whom after ye believed ye were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance, until the redemption of the purchased possession ' (Ephes. i. 13, 14); ' Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption ' (*ibid.*, iv. 30).^{*} Again,—repentance, faith, and actual holiness, the preceding qualifications for, and subsequent effects of, the gift—in other words, ' circumcision of the heart '—are the very fruits of the Holy Spirit, the very fruits which, if He be ' a principle of life '—of spiritual life, of course—He produces; yet we are told that regenerating grace, which is also ' a principle of life,' is entirely distinct from them. This grace is an ' initiatory gift,' yet it has nothing in common with what follows—' an infused virtue,' which yet is not in itself virtue. It is said to be exclusively conveyed in and by baptism, yet regeneration is in Scripture as often and as explicitly connected with the Word as an instrument as with baptism. ' Of his own will begat He us with the word of truth ' (Jas. i. 18); ' born again not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the Word of God ' (1 Pet. i. 23); ' ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus ' (Gal. iii. 26); but faith and the Word are correlative terms. It is attempted to evade the plain sense of these passages, that the Word (not excluding baptism in some sense) is an *instrument* of regeneration, by making them mean that ' the Word of God, joined with faith in that word, confers a saving efficacy on the waters of baptism, sanctifying them to this mystical washing away of sin and the mystical renewal of the human soul.'† What a ' mystical,' apart from an actual, renewal of the soul may be, it is not easy to understand. If the Word be a proper instrument of regeneration, regeneration must be more than a mere mystical grace, because the Word operates by appealing to the conscience and affections, and produces a moral change, if any. Such are the inconsistencies which learned men fall into when they attempt to reconcile the statements of Scripture with

^{*} Note that the earnest, the sealing, and the first-fruits of the Spirit are synonymous expressions.

† Bethell, Appendix.

the scholastic theories of the middle ages. The fact is, that this notion of a special grace of baptism, neutral in character, a dormant principle determined neither to good nor to evil, is an adaptation to Protestant theology of the Romish doctrine of the 'impressed character.' Three of the sacraments of Romanism impress a character on the soul—baptism, confirmation, and orders; and this character is never obliterated, whence the ecclesiastical rule that baptism cannot be twice administered. In the Romish Catechism the sealing of the spirit (2 Cor. i. 22) is interpreted of this sacramental character, just as we have seen it identified with the mystical grace of regeneration.* But this character has no necessary connection with personal holiness. It conveys neither remission of sin nor infused grace; it is not *gratia gratum faciens*, but *gratia gratis data*; it is a gift which simply determines a man's position in the Church.† The fictus in baptism receives it equally with the repentant believer, and a morally vicious priest equally with the most holy. To say the least, a grace of regeneration which is quite distinct from the antecedent qualifications for the normal case of baptism—viz., repentance and faith—and from the subsequent moral renovation of the true Christian, looks very like this impressed character of the Schoolmen and of the Romish Church. The theory leads to startling conclusions. The same writer who describes 'the gift of righteousness,' which is the formal cause of justification and the effect of baptism, as 'an inward yet not a moral gift, but a supernatural power or divine virtue,'‡ gives the following account of regeneration: 'It is, I say, a new birth, or the giving of a new nature. Now, let it be observed, there is nothing impossible in the thing itself (though we do not believe it so), but nothing impossible in the very notion of a regeneration being accorded even to impenitent sinners. I do not say regeneration in its fulness, for that includes in it perfect happiness and holiness, to which it tends from the first, yet regeneration in a sufficient sense in its primary qualities. For the essence of regeneration is the communication of a higher and diviner nature; and sinners may have this gift, though it be a curse to them, and not a blessing. The devils have a nature thus higher and more divine than man, yet

* Cum Apostolus ait: Unxit nos Deus, qui et signavit nos, et dedit pignus Spiritus in cordibus nostris; voce illa, signavit, non obscure characterem descripsit. Cat. Conc. Trid., De Sac., xxix.

† Character non est habitus, quia nullus habitus est qui se possit ad bonè et malè habere; character autem ad utrumque se habet; utuntur enim eo quidam bonè, alii vero malè; quod in habitibus non contingit; nam habitu virtutis nullus utitur malè, et habitu malitiæ nullus bonè. T. Aquil., De Sac., Q. lxiii., Art. 2.

‡ Newman, Justif., c. vii., 4.

they are not preserved thereby from evil.* Here it is argued that regeneration in its root or essence may be of a different quality from the same grace in its fulness; that is, that the same root may produce good or evil indifferently. What determines it one way or the other? The exercise of free will? This lands us in Pelagianism. Scripture speaks of a tree which from its nature bears good fruit, and of another tree which from its nature bears evil fruit, and it was on this ground that Augustine met his opponent. 'Pelagius holds that we have a possibility implanted in us by God† which, like a fruitful root, may develop itself in either direction, and at the will of the possessor issue either in the blossoms of virtue or the thorns of vice. He does not perceive that in making one and the same thing the root both of good and of evil he teaches contrary to evangelical truth. For the Lord says that a good tree cannot produce evil fruit, nor an evil tree good fruit. If, then, the two trees, the good and the evil, signify two men, a good and an evil one, what is a good man but a man of good will—that is, a tree of good root—and an evil man but a man of evil will—that is, a tree of evil root?‡ A regeneration supposed to be the work of the Holy Spirit, but belonging to the same category as the higher nature of devils, speaks for itself. At any rate, it is not that of the New Testament.

Regeneration, again, is not a mere 'potential faculty' of renovation, by which expression is to be understood not actual renovation, but only the possibility of attaining thereto: the capacity of becoming holy. This means that it liberates the will so far as to place it in a state of equilibrium, but not so far as to incline it to goodness (see § 61); and it is by the exercise of free will that the equilibrium is disturbed in one direction or the other. On this theory the covenant of grace is nothing but the covenant of Adam over again, notwithstanding the proof afforded by the fall that this latter covenant is not sufficient to secure to the Saviour 'the travail of His soul,' a Church to share in His glory. A mere capacity for renovation is quite consistent with any amount of depravity short of the unpardonable sin, whatever that may be; it is but saying, in other words, that the most hardened sinner may be brought to repentance, which no one contests. It is the 'state of salvation' according to the interpretation sometimes put upon these words in the Catechism, notwithstanding the explanation of them given afterwards—'who sanctifieth' (actually sanctifies) 'me and all the elect people of

* Newman, *Serm.*, vol. iii., *Serm.* 6.

† Bp. Bethell would add, 'In every infant through baptism.'

‡ De Grat. *Christ.*, 19, 20.

God.' Such a conception of regeneration is altogether inadequate. If repentance and faith—faith as an apprehension under conviction of sin of the special promise of forgiveness—are present as necessary qualifications for the grace of baptism, the equilibrium is already disturbed in a saving direction, and by the direct influence of the Holy Spirit. Or is it maintained that these preparatory qualifications are the product of nature, and not of prevenient grace?

It is hardly necessary to add that the work of regeneration is carried on with the co-operation of the human subject. The faith which procures justification antecedently to baptism is no dormant, or latent, principle, no gift bestowed on an unconscious subject, but an act which involves the stirring of our moral nature to its inmost depths, to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit; it involves a quickening of the conscience to the evil of sin, alarm at the consequences of sin, desire to be delivered from its guilt and power, earnest appropriation of the Gospel-promise. Of this character, too, is the repentance which precedes baptism. The attempt to confine human co-operation to what follows baptism, in other words, to the sanctification of the Christian, while it is practically ignored in the preparatory qualifications, in order to make regenerating grace the sole act of God, excluding all notion of man's co-operation, is an arbitrary limitation, devised only in the interests of a theory. The throes of the new birth, the birth itself, the subsequent Christian life, all go to fill up the complex conception of regeneration. Baptism comes between the past and the future; the completion of what has preceded, the symbol and pledge to the Church of what is to come; but man's share in the process of salvation precedes the reception of that sacrament as well as follows it.

That this conception of regeneration, as a mystical grace which does not in itself imply sanctification, has been framed to meet the case of infants is sufficiently plain. They cannot comply with the preliminary conditions of baptism, repentance and faith, nor are they capable of moral renovation until a subsequent period; that is, the Word which Scripture declares to be an, if not the, instrument of regeneration of necessity cannot, in their case, discharge its office. Nothing remains but to suppose that baptism may convey a grace of a potential, dormant character, and to this the term of 'regeneration' is applied. We may, of course, attach any arbitrary meaning we please to this term, but the question now before us is not whether infants may be baptized, or what the benefit is which they receive thereby, but what does Scripture teach respecting regeneration in itself, in the abstract, irrespectively of the proper subjects of baptism?

And a further question is, with what case of baptism it connects the term? As regards the former point, there appears to be no doubt that it describes regeneration as a state of actual goodness; and as regards the latter, we are met by the same difficulty as occurs in the matter of justification, that Scripture furnishes only the case of adults from which we can draw conclusions. Now, we must not lower the sense of a Scripture term so as to make it fit in with an exceptional case, respecting which Scripture leaves us very much in the dark; but rather, retaining the full Scriptural sense, examine to what extent, and with what modifications, it may be applied to such a case. By what instrument, or instruments, regeneration is effected? who are the proper subjects of baptism? are questions to be debated on their own grounds; and the meaning of the term 'new birth' in Scripture must also be determined on its own independent grounds. The conclusion may be, as in the matter of justification, that the term is not strictly applicable to infants.* Happily, their *salvation* involves no such doubts; and much useless controversy might have been avoided had this term been adhered to.

§ 72. *Unio Mystica.*

By the Lutheran theologians it is held that regeneration, in the full sense of the term just described, issues in a mystical union of the regenerate person with the Holy Trinity, with God as regards the substance, with each Person in a manner peculiar to Himself, *salvo earum discrimine et ordine*. It is called mystical, as being a great mystery, and spiritual as being effected by the Holy Spirit, and after a spiritual, not a carnal fashion.† It is defined as an act of grace whereby the substance of the Holy Trinity and of the human nature of Christ is brought into most intimate union with the substance of the regenerate man, by means of the word and the sacraments; and its effect is a special presence and operation of God, certifying the believer of his adoption, and co-operating in the work of his sanctification.‡

That the presence of God in creation may be regarded as operating variously, according to the subject, has already been

* The schoolmen met the difficulty by boldly asserting that active moral habits are in baptism infused into infants. *Pueri in baptismo gratiam et virtutes consequuntur.* T. Aqu., P. iii., 269, Art. 6.

† Quenstedt, P. iii., c. 10, Thes. 5.

‡ Quenstedt. *Ibid.* Thes. xix. Compare Hollaz, iii., § 1, c. 9: *Unio mystica formaliter consistit tum in speciali et intrinseca conjunctione substantiæ hominis fidelis cum substantiâ S. Trinitatis et carnis Christi; tum in gratiosa operatione qua Deus in homine renato operatur, influxa speciali et efficaci.*

observed (§ 16) ; and that the members of Christ enjoy a special degree thereof is taught in Scripture. Christ is said to dwell in their hearts by faith (Ephes. iii. 17) ; Christians are temples of the Holy Ghost (1 Cor. iii. 16) ; the indwelling of the Father and the Son is promised to them (John xiv. 23) ; and in the performance of religious duties, especially in that of prayer, they are assisted by the Holy Spirit, as a Person, and as the Paraclete whom Christ promised to take His place, in a peculiar manner (Rom. viii. 26). This may with propriety be called a *concurſus ſpecialis*, a particular form and energy of the general attribute of omnipreſence. And ſuch paſſages as the above are incompatible with the Socinian tenet, which ſome Arminian writers ſeem diſpoſed to adopt, that the Holy Spirit is preſent in Chriſtians only by the effects which He produces, and the gifts which He confers. Yet it is hardly ſafe to ſpeak as the Lutherans do of this union. That the ſubſtance of God is in the Chriſtian united to the ſubſtance of man has indeed been maintained by ſome myſtical ſects (Schwenkfeldians, etc.), but ſober interpreters of Scripture will heſitate to endorse the aſſertion. Even with the caution that no coaleſcence into one ſubſtance, or tranſmutation of one nature into the other, is intended, the language is objectionable.* Moreover, when we apply the term ‘ſubſtance’ to God, we ſpeak improperly, or analogically ; the ſubſtance of God muſt be ſomething very different from what is meant by the logical category that goes under the name. Of ſtill more doubtful tendency is the notion that the human nature of Chriſt becomes united to the human nature of the Chriſtian. Indeed, it is but an inference from the Lutheran doctrine of the Eucharist, and ſtands or falls therewith.† It dates from a long time antecedent to the Lutheran Reformation. According to Leo, in and by baptiſm ‘the body of the regenerate perſon becomes the fleſh of the crucified One’;‡ ſo ſoon did the doctrine of a physical connection with the manhood of Chriſt by means of the ſacraments diſplace the Scriptural one of union with Chriſt by His Spirit dwelling in

* It is thus that Hollaz guards the doctrine: *Unio myſtica non eſt formaliter, ſive ratione modi, ſubſtantialis. Neque enim ex ſubſtantia divina et humana una reſultat ſubſtantia, ſicut ſurculus cum trunco in unam arboris ſubſtantiam coaleſcit. Accuratiuſ dicitur unio ſubſtantiarum quam ſubſtantialis ; quia ad unionem formaliter ſubſtantialem requiritur ut duæ ſubſtantiaſ incomplete in unam ſubſtantiam completam coeant. At vero in Unione myſtica Deus et homo renatus ſunt ſubſtantiaſ complete ; neque altera in alteram mutatur, aut tranſubſtantiat. P. iii., § 1, c. 9.*

† Cum Chriſtus caput eccleſiaſ non tantum ſecundum divinam ſed et humanam naturam ſit ; conſequitur nos non tantum cum divina natura ſed et ſubſtantia carniſ Chriſti, *ſacramentaliter in uſu cene ſpiritualiter extra ſacramentum*, uniri. Hollaz, *Ibid.*

‡ Serm. lxiii.

us. The passages adduced by the Lutheran divines do not bear out their theory. 'We are members,' St. Paul says, 'of His body, His flesh, and His bones'; certainly, but in the same sense in which husband and wife are said to be 'one flesh.' 'That we might be partakers of the Divine nature' (2 Pet. i. 4); rather of *a* Divine nature (*θείας*, not *τῆς θείας*, *φύσεως*), that is, of the regenerating grace of the Holy Spirit with the holy dispositions which it produces. Not more to the point are the passages above cited. We are the temple of God, we have put on Christ (Gal. iii. 27), we have Christ in our hearts by faith, because His Spirit dwells in us. The union with Christ, and through Christ with God, of which Scripture speaks, is of an ethical, not a metaphysical character; a union effected by faith, and moral in its nature; not of essences, whether Divine or human. Physical conceptions on the subject are an intrusion of the natural creation into the higher region of supernatural grace. 'Baptizing them into the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' into that fellowship which is a fellowship with the Holy Trinity (Matt. xxviii. 19): 'the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all' (2 Cor. xiii. 14): this is the Christian's mystical union with God. No other is needed, for no other can exceed this in blessedness and dignity; and Scripture, properly understood, speaks of no other.

§ 73. *Sanctification.*

In regeneration, comprising conversion and justification, a child of Adam is born into a new state; and this change, just as baptism cannot be repeated, takes place once for all, and no more admits of repetition than its counterpart in the natural world. But as natural birth, unless the process is prematurely arrested, is followed by successive stages of growth and development, bodily and mental, so the initial act of regeneration passes into a continuous act of dying to sin and rising again to righteousness, or sanctification. And with this accords the symbolism of the sacrament of regeneration; signifying not only a death unto sin, as Christ by His death became free from any connection with sin, but also a resurrection to a new life, as Christ's resurrection implies a perpetual living to God (Rom. vi. 10).

The term sanctification in the Old Testament is applied to whatever was set apart to the service of God, including even inanimate things (Exod. xix. 23); and is used in a more general sense than under the Christian dispensation. That is, justification and sanctification are not so clearly distinguished as afterwards.

Israel was to be a holy people, cleansed symbolically from guilt by the sacrifices and purifications of the law, and separated from the heathen world by circumcision in the flesh ; but remission of sin and renovation of life indifferently receive the name of sanctification. This is not to be wondered at, considering that under the law neither was a perfect atonement accomplished, nor the special gift of the Holy Ghost, the fruit of Christ's ascension, vouchsafed. In this extended sense the term is sometimes found in the New Testament, an instance among many of transferred modes of expression : thus, in such passages as Acts xxvi. 18, 'among them that are sanctified by faith that is in me,' and Heb. ii. 11, 'He that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all of one,' sanctification seems used for the whole complex term redemption.* Elsewhere, however, as in 1 Cor. i. 30, Rom. viii. 30, the difference between it and justification is expressed. They differ as the foundation (justification) differs from the superstructure (sanctification), and as a process complete in itself from one admitting of degrees and progressive. Justification must, indeed, be continuous, but it can be neither more nor less ; sanctification is always advancing towards perfection. The subject of sanctification is properly neither the 'new man,' that is, the Divine seed implanted in regeneration, nor the 'old man,' or the corrupt nature derived from Adam. Not the 'new man,' for this is the ultimate result to which the process tends, and what it will eventually issue in, unless arrested, but it is a result which is never in this life actually attained : not the 'old man,' for this cannot, and is not intended to, be sanctified, but rather crucified, with Christ and put to death. The moral improvement which discipline and education can, and often do, produce in the natural man differs specifically from the sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit ; a truth which is sometimes lost sight of in modern speculations on this subject. The central personality, the *ego*, occupying a middle position between nature and grace, and capable of connection with either, is the true seat of the sanctifying influences of the Spirit, as it is of the struggle between the flesh and the Spirit of which the Christian is conscious, and which he deplores. It is this central personality which St. Paul describes in Rom. vii. as emancipated indeed from the undisputed dominion of sin, but still bearing the traces of its former servitude, and liable to oscillation between the forces which contend for the mastery, until the cure is complete. In a future state perfect

* *Renovatio dicitur alias sanctificatio, quæ itidem vel late accipitur, ut ambitu suo vocationem, illuminationem, conversionem, regenerationem, justificationem, et renovationem complectatur ; vel stricte sumitur, prout cum renovatione stricte sic dictâ coincidit.* Hollaz, P. iii., § 1, c. 10.

moral freedom will be established, as the elect angels act freely yet with a moral necessity of choosing the good. Commencing from this central *ego*, sanctification radiates in all directions, drawing within its influence successively the spirit, the soul (or rather the inner man viewed in different relations, § 31), and finally the body with its members. The 'redemption of the body' is its final triumph; whence St. Paul in Rom. viii. 30 passes over the link between justification and final glorification, viz., the resurrection of the body ('whom He justified them He also glorified'), because sanctification is this glory begun here, and manifested hereafter. Or, as he expresses it in verse 11, 'If the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ shall also quicken your mortal bodies because of His Spirit (*διὰ τὸ πνεῦμα*) that dwelleth in you.' This is sanctification as it belongs to all Christians. But inasmuch as each has an office to fulfil in the building up of the spiritual temple, and the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit are no longer vouchsafed, natural endowments, sanctified by Divine grace, become the instruments of this ministry in its various aspects; and as, in a secondary sense, *χαρίσματα*, they contribute to the welfare of the body of Christ, until, collectively, Christians 'come unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ' (Ephes. iv. 13).

That in this life sanctification in Scripture is never supposed to be complete has been subject of remark in a preceding section (§ 65); and experience proves that, whether the idea may be entertained or not, such grace is not ordinarily given. Is it ever, in fact, bestowed? We must distinguish between the removal of impediments to the attainment of such a state, and the mere fact of progression. As a progressive process sanctification knows no limit: the vision of God, which the holy angels enjoy and which will be vouchsafed to the Church made perfect, can to finite creatures only be imparted by degrees, one stage after another; and the full enjoyment of it can only be reached in an eternity of existence, that is, it never can be fully reached. In this sense, sanctification, at whatever stage, is capable of increase. But if certain hindrances belong to a certain state of being, by which the progress is checked or rendered irregular, we may suppose these to be at some point or other removed, and the soul so far set free to pursue its upward course. Now St. Paul does unquestionably connect the conflict of the flesh with the spirit with our present bodily organization. The law which warred against 'the law of his mind' was in his 'members'; he prayed to be delivered from 'the body of this death,' or 'this body of death,' the body which by reason of sin is subject to death; 'the body is dead' (liable

to death) 'because of sin' (Rom. vii. 23, 24, viii. 10). The term 'flesh,' though implying more than mere carnal impulses, could hardly have been arbitrarily chosen by him to denote the sinful principle. What, then, is more likely than that death, which severs the bond between soul and body, severs also the connection between the soul and sin, and so far completes the Christian's sanctification? It is true the Apostle would not be 'unclothed, but clothed upon'; he would prefer that, apart from the mortal stroke of the last enemy, 'mortality should be swallowed up of life'; but failing this privilege, still death, it seems, would be to him deliverance from the burden of a corrupt nature, and however imperfect in other respects the intermediate state might be, it would be undisturbed by the conflict between nature and grace. So much we may gather from his expressed anticipations, coupled with other hints of Scripture. To the Christian, then, death, though the penalty of sin, is in reality a deliverance and a blessing. The disembodied soul (if indeed ever quite disembodied, § 106) longs for reunion with the body which has been sown in corruption, in order to resume its activity in the service of God (*καρπὸς ἔργου*, Phil. i. 22); but meanwhile its sanctification is so far complete that the flesh no longer lusts against the spirit (Gal. v. 17). Möhler, arguing in favour of a purgatory, asks how Protestants can suppose that sin is finally expelled by a physical catastrophe;* but exposes himself to the reply, that a purgatorial fire is an equally mechanical conception. On either side a difficulty exists.

Although human co-operation is improperly excluded from the operations of Divine grace previously to the alleged mystical grace of baptism, it may be admitted that it is more conspicuous in the subsequent stage of sanctification. Up to the new birth the Divine agency predominates, though never by constraint, *aguntur ut agent*; afterwards it associates itself more prominently with the human agent. For the will has now received a new power, and although the Christian can never stand alone, or accumulate a stock of grace, rendering him independent of Divine assistance, yet if that assistance is to be expected, the quickened functions of the spiritual principle must be summoned to do their part. Hence the Apostle's exhortation, involving at first sight a difficulty, 'Work out your own salvation, for it is God who worketh in you both to will and to do' (Phil. ii. 13). The fact that God works in the regenerate in a manner, and with an energy peculiar to that state, far from warranting sloth, constitutes an additional motive to exertion; and the exertion is necessary, if the result is to be achieved. The Christian is

* Symbolik, § 23.

furnished with weapons of heavenly temper, and with strength to use them ; if he neglects to do so, spiritual atrophy may set in. 'Pray without ceasing,' for the Holy Spirit makes intercession in you 'with groanings which cannot be uttered' (Rom. viii. 26) ; 'resist the wiles of the devil,' for a panoply of spiritual armour is provided for your use (Ephes. vi. 11-18) ; 'keep yourselves unspotted from the world,' 'for this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith' (1 John v. 4) ; in such passages as these grace and sanctified natural effort are so interwoven that it is difficult to distinguish one from the other. The error of Pelagianism, and of Romanism in its Pelagian tendencies, is to substitute in this joint work natural power for sanctified. We may draw a lesson from the natural creation : the origin of life is a mystery which finds no solution until we ascend to a creative act ; once communicated it is continued and strengthened by the co-operation of secondary causes. We may inquire here to what extent the relapses of the regenerate man interfere with his growth in grace. Involuntary sins, springing from the remaining infirmity of nature, are at once forgiven through the abiding habit of faith ; those of a graver character are made, as in Peter's case, the means of improving some Christian virtue which needed to be improved. Yet both the one and the other call for confession and prayer. Thus, sanctification can never dispense with the primary elements of religion ; as it began, so it lives, in the exercises of repentance and faith. Whether in the case of the regenerate such relapses may be final is a question considered in another place (§ 75).

How far the law is binding on Christians is a point much debated in ancient and modern times. A favourite topic with St. Paul is their freedom not from the law under every aspect, but from bondage to the law ; and not merely the ceremonial, but, as appears from the instance in Rom. vii., the moral. 'I through the law am dead to the law' ; 'Ye are become dead to the law by the body of Christ' ; 'Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage' ;—such is the tenour of his teaching. It has been interpreted to mean that in no sense have Christians to do with the law, and grave injury has resulted therefrom ; either the law is supposed no longer to be useful in convincing of sin, this office being transferred to the Gospel ; or not to be necessary as a rule of life, the Christian being a law to himself. The ancient Manichæans proceeded still further, and rejected the law as proceeding from an inferior and evil principle.

To be under bondage to the law is not the same thing as to acknowledge its authority. When St. Paul describes Christians

as emancipated from legal bondage, he means that through faith in Christ they are free from the law as a covenant of works, that its condemning sentence does not apply to them. This was exhausted in the person of their substitute and surety, so that in the matter of justification works have no place except as evidences of faith. The bondage of expecting salvation on the ground of merit has been exchanged for the liberty of the children of God, whose faith is counted unto them for righteousness. Yet even as regards Christians the law has its offices to discharge. When, as in the Galatian Church, reliance on human merit (our innate tendency) threatens to supersede the simplicity of the Gospel, the law resumes its function, and by conviction of sin leads to a fresh appropriation of the finished salvation of Christ (*usus elenchticus*). Or when the standard of Christian practice is, from various causes, in danger of being lowered, the law, by holding up the ideal, serves to check the process of decay. It is true the Christian is taught of God; and on the whole is led by the Holy Spirit; but he is only sanctified in part, and dare not exclusively trust the light within. Experience proves that conscience, however sensitive, and the best intentions, are no safeguard against obliquities of mental vision, and even grave failures in Christian duty. Sometimes the code of morality is relaxed, sometimes religion assumes a superstitious or fanatical character; the latter being the common form of degradation in countries where the Bible is but little known and circulated. The danger can only be averted by such an exhibition of the Divine law, and especially of its embodiment in our great Exemplar, as shall from time to time recall the attention of the Church to the genuine fruits of the spirit, as distinguished from spurious admixtures (*usus normativus*)*.

§ 74. Good Works.

Good works, under that term being comprised not only overt acts, but the affections of the renewed heart, are the natural product of the sanctifying principle implanted in the Christian; just as the living tree brings forth fruit, or the bodily organs perform their functions by virtue of the mysterious principle called life. They are inseparable from, but not identical with, what Scripture terms the new creature in Christ.

That good works, in this extended sense, are not an accident of a state of salvation, but a necessary concomitant thereof, is

* By theologians three uses are ascribed to the law—(1) to restrain the outbreaks of crime, (2) to maintain conviction of sin, (3) to be a rule of life. Hollaz, P. iii., § 2, c. 1, 239. Form. Concord., P. ii., c. 5. But the first belongs to civil polity, not to the Church. The two latter only are of dogmatical import.

the common doctrine of Romanists and Protestants. 'Good works do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, inso-much that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by its fruits' (Art. xii.). Notwithstanding, however, the repeated declarations of the Protestant confessions on this point, no charge is more persistently urged by Romanists against their opponents than that of dispensing in their teaching with the necessity of good works. Not uncommonly the method is adopted of selecting passages from the private writings of the Reformers, especially Luther, which possess no symbolical authority; and drawing inferences therefrom inconsistent with the plain statements of the public confessions.* Luther furnishes abundant material for this mode of controversy. Though to a candid mind, observing the context, his meaning is clear enough, his mode of expression is, no doubt, sometimes unguarded, and liable to misrepresentation. But what has this to do with the authentic symbols of the Protestant churches? It is disingenuous, to say the least, of Bellarmine, after admitting that the Augsburg Confession and other public documents of the Reformation insist upon the necessity of good works, to cite Luther against them: 'Whatever may be the case with their professions, when their principles and many sayings of Luther are examined, they seem to hold that a man may be saved, even if he does no works nor keeps God's commandments.'†

The word 'necessary' has here a twofold application, and advantage is taken of the ambiguity to insinuate the charge just mentioned; it is an instance of the fallacy *a dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter*. When the Romanist urges the necessity of good works he means that they constitute a meritorious cause of justification, if not *de congruo* certainly *de condigno*; and it is only the same notion under another form when love is made the formal cause of justification. When the Protestant admits that good works are necessary to salvation, as he does, his meaning is that no one is ultimately saved who has not proved that his

* Möhler, Symbolik, §§ 22—24.

† De Justif., L. iv., c. 1. How far the charge is well founded may be judged from the following 'professions' out of many; Bona opera tam non rejicimus ut prorsus negemus quenquam plene posse salvum fieri nisi huc per S. Christi evaserit ut nihil jam honorum operum in eo desideretur. Conf. Tetrapol. cv. Ad salutem omnino necessaria esse (bona opera) agnoscimus, quamvis non ut causas justificationis aut salutis meritorias. Decl. Thor. iv. 9. Quamvis doceamus cum Apostolo hominem gratis justificari per fidem in Christum, et non per ulla opera bona, non ideo tamen vilipendimus opera bona. Cum sciamus hominem nec conditum nec regnitum esse per fidem ut otietur; sed potius ut indesinentur quæ bona et utilia sunt faciat. Conf. Helv. c. 16. Docent nostri quod necesse sit bona opera facere, non ut confidamus per ea gratiam mereri, sed propter voluntatem Dei. Conf. Augs. xx.

faith is a saving one by the fruits which it has produced. The difference relates not to the necessary existence of good works, which on both sides is acknowledged, but to the place which they hold in the economy of grace; which, according to the Romanist, is one of desert; according to the Protestant, of invariable accompaniment. The Council of Trent anathematizes those who deny that justification 'is increased by good works,' and also those who deny that by them a justified person merits increase of grace and *eternal life*.^{*} There is a wide distinction between deserving the fulfilment of a gratuitous promise either of increase of grace or of a greater reward in the life to come, and deserving eternal life itself. As regards the latter, nothing can be allowed to co-operate with the meritorious work of Christ. Nor is it to the point to urge that, after all, the whole is of grace, since it is only through the grace of Christ that good works can be performed; the question relates not to the *origin* of good works, but to their ability to meet the demands of the Divine law, which the Protestant maintains they cannot do. Yet salvation is not attainable without good works. In the language of the schools, they are *in ordine*, the appointed way, to salvation. They are a condition *sine quâ non*, a very different thing from either the efficient or the meritorious cause. By the command of God; by the nature of the case, for heaven itself could not be enjoyed without that change of heart of which good works are the fruit; by the continued obligation of the law as a rule of life; by the fact that the Author of the new birth is a Spirit of holiness, good works are indispensable to a state of salvation. God saves no man in his sins. The way to eternal life is not only narrow, but of a specific character, and only they who walk in it reach the goal. But the walking in it is not what gives a meritorious title to the reward. Thus, in one sense good works are necessary to salvation, and in another not; and the senses should be carefully distinguished. Cases like that of the thief on the cross, in which, from lack of opportunity it is not possible to give evidence of a spiritual change, stand on their own ground. Where opportunity is vouchsafed, good works cannot be absent from saving faith.

Early in the history of the Reformation a controversy arose respecting the use of this expression. The *Formula Concordiæ* (Lutheran) holds that it is not a safe mode of speaking to say, without explanations, that good works are necessary to salvation, still less to justification. In this it is followed by our own divine Davenant, whose remarks on the subject are worth quoting: 'In controversy with Romanists it is not wise to speak thus, for,

^{*} Sess. vi., Canons 24 and 32.

however the propositions may be explained and reduced to a good sense, the Romanists, when they are nakedly propounded, always understand that works are necessary, as from their own intrinsic worth deserving of salvation; which is most untrue. Moreover, the common people, hearing these statements, either with or without explanation, are likely to attach a false meaning to them.* ‘Good works,’ he proceeds, ‘are not necessary to salvation, if we understand by them either works perfectly and uninterruptedly good, such as the law requires; or works considered under the notion of meritorious cause. If the former is the sense intended, no one could ever be justified, for the best works of the holiest men are neither perfect nor uninterrupted; if the latter, it interferes with the doctrine of Scripture that only the merits of Christ are the procuring cause of salvation’ (*Ibid.*). Again, ‘But good works *are* necessary under certain limitations. Not as if they ever can be so perfect as to take the place of Christ’s merits, or so uniform in tenor as that the Christian may not occasionally falter in his course; but because God has marked out a certain path to the kingdom of heaven—the path of holiness; and by that path alone can the destination be reached. If one prescribed road leads to a city, and no other, all who wish to arrive there must keep this road; and if anyone wanders from it into forbidden paths (as may often happen), he will never succeed in his object unless he retraces his steps to the appointed road. If the Christian falls into sin he must repent and do the first works, for as long as he continues in a sinful state he is out of the narrow way that leads to life’ (*Ibid.*, c. xxxi.).

None of the passages of Scripture quoted by Bellarmine avail for his purpose. ‘If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments’ (Matt. xix. 17);—the context proves that it was our Lord’s intention, not to explain how eternal life is to be merited, but, by unfolding the spirituality of the law, to bring to light the latent insincerity of the inquirer; and besides, it is nothing but the fact that no one can enter into life except in the way of the commandments. ‘Patience is necessary that after ye have done the will of God ye may receive the promise’ (Heb. x. 36); ‘Work out your own salvation,’ etc. (Phil. ii. 12); ‘Godly sorrow worketh repentance unto salvation’ (2 Cor. vii. 10); ‘If ye mortify the deeds of the body ye shall live’ (Rom. viii. 13); ‘Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom; for I was an hungered, and ye gave Me meat,’ etc.;—these and similar passages† affirm, indeed, that there is a connection between good works and salvation; nay, that in a certain sense, as a condition

* De Just. Act., c. xxxi.

† See Bull, Harm. Apost., i., c. 2.

sine quâ non, they are necessary ; but as to the meritorious cause of salvation, which is the point at issue,* they convey no information. The sense in which St. James declares that a man is justified by works has been already explained (§ 66). Nor is it necessary again to notice the evasion that St. Paul, in excluding works from a meritorious virtue, means works of the ceremonial law, or those done before the infusion of grace—not works the fruit of the Holy Spirit's operation (*Ibid.*).

The topic of good works as necessary belongs rather to justification in its continuance than to the first reception of that gift. In whatever sense the preparatory steps (awakening, enlightening, etc.) may be called works, or good works, they are not so in the specific sense here intended, but rather such as our article describes as done “before justification” (xiii.), and which it pronounces, perhaps in too sweeping terms, as having ‘the nature of sin.’† How is a state of justification continued? According to the Council of Trent, by means of good works.‡ This is, in effect, the doctrine of merit *ex condigno*; which means that there is a due proportion between the works and the reward, so that the latter may be claimed as a matter of right.§ There is thus introduced a distinction between the beginning of justification and its continuance;|| the former is a free gift, the latter depends on, or lives in, obedience. But St. Paul, in describing faith as the instrument of justification, makes no such distinction. From first to last the Christian, conscious of imperfection, is thrown

* Non satis est ad defensionem Papistarum concludere opera esse aliquo modo causam salutis, nisi et illud insuper ostendatur, esse causas per *modum causæ meritorie*; nam de hoc ambigitur, non de causa salutis, vocabulo large aut impropria sumpto. Davenant, De J. A., c. xxxii.

† Illud autem observandum est, nos per opera bona intelligere illa solummodo quæ habent bonitatem *supernaturalem*, hoc est, quæ fiunt ab hominibus renatis, et fluunt a corde purificato per fidem. Davenant. De Just. Act., c. xxx. In what category are the works which *lead* to justification to be placed; e.g., repentance, prayer, faith, etc.? Since even they must be supposed to proceed from prevenient grace, it is difficult to understand why they should have ‘the nature of sin.’

‡ Si quis dixerit justitiam acceptam non conservari per bona opera, anathema sit. Sess. vi., Can. 24. Comp. Newman, Justif. L. xii.,—‘Justification comes through the sacraments; is received by faith; consists in God’s inward presence; and *lives in obedience*.’ The obedience which the law demands? If so, there is no such thing as justification on earth.

§ Tunc est meritum ex condigno quando ratio meriti reperitur ibi plene et perfecte, ita ut sit quædam commensuratio et adæquatio operis ad præmium. Bonaventure, quoted by Davenant, De J. A., i., c. iii.

|| ‘Past sins are removable only by an imputation of righteousness,’ Newman, Justif., L. ii. Therefore, it is argued, ‘when the word justification is used to denote the beginning of a justified state, it only, or chiefly, means acceptance; when the continuance, *chiefly sanctification*.’ *Ibid.*, L. iv. Why should the word thus change its meaning?

back on the word of promise, and his justification lives, not in obedience, but in a constantly renewed appropriation of the merits of Christ. If, however, by justification we mean the sense of it, or assurance, it may be admitted that this does live in obedience. Carelessness in the Christian walk, whether in the way of omission or commission, grieves the Holy Spirit, and renders the witness of that Divine Agent in the heart less energetic. But does this affect justification itself, or establish the doctrine of merit, *ex condigno*? A cloud may pass over the sun and obscure its beams, but the sun is still behind it, and in its native glory.

Are the good works which are the fruits of faith really good, or only sins in disguise? Strong expressions are found in the writings of Luther, Melancthon, and other Reformers, to the effect that the best of good works are only venial sins, or even worse.* The meaning, of course, is plain, and quite Scriptural. The best service which Christians can render is neither so free from admixture of human infirmity nor so uniform as to claim, on the footing of merit, a reward either here or hereafter. Weighed in the balances of the Divine law it is found wanting, and defect of this kind springs from sin, and is of the nature of sin. The statements referred to amount merely to this—that in itself, and without reference to the fact that it is rendered by a person accepted in Christ, the Christian's obedience condemns him, which is nothing but the fact.† Nor is it more than what the prophet confesses, 'We are all as an unclean thing, and all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags' (Is. lxiv. 6); or what St. John affirms, 'If we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us' (1 John i. 8). The Romanist admits that venial sin cleaves, or may cleave, to our best performances; but since with him venial sin is, in fact, no sin,‡ he can argue that the law may be perfectly fulfilled, and that justification, at least in its continuance, lives meritoriously in obedience. Those who hold that venial sin, however venial, is sin, are precluded

* *Opus bonum optime factum est veniale peccatum.* Luther, *Assert. omn. A. Opp.* Tom 2, fol. 325-326. *Nos docuimus justificari solâ fide . . . opera nostra, conatus nostros, nihil nisi peccatum esse.* Melancth., *Loci Theo.*, p. 158. (Both quoted by Möhler, § 22.)

† Bellarmine, in quoting Luther, by a *suppressio veri* misrepresents him: *Dictum Lutheri, quod omnia justorum opera sint vere peccata.* De Justif., iv. c. 10. Luther's words are, *Omne opus justi damnabile est et peccatum smortale, si iudicio Dei judicetur*; as Möhler has the candour to add. *Symb.*,

‡ *Admixtio venialium peccatorum non impedit veram justitiam: tum quia non est necesse ut in singulis operibus admisceatur veniale peccatum, tum quia peccatum veniale non est contrarium charitati, nec proprie contra legem sed præter legem.* Bellarm., De Justif., iv., c. 17.

from this conclusion. Nevertheless, it may be well to avoid statements which seem paradoxical, and may give rise to misapprehension. However unable Christian obedience may be to claim, on the footing of strict justice, a reward, there is no reason why it should not be described as pleasing to God, and in a sense meritorious. Scripture uses such language: 'God is not unrighteous, that He will forget your works, and labour that proceedeth from love'; 'To do good and to distribute forget not, for with such sacrifices God is well pleased' (Heb. vi. 10; xiii. 16); 'Having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you, an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing to God' (Phil. iv. 18); 'Come, ye blessed of My Father, for I was an hungered,' etc. (Matt. xxv. 34, 35);—from these and similar passages nothing can be clearer than that good works are acceptable to God. Why should they not be? They are in themselves such as He approves of; they are prompted by His Holy Spirit; they are performed by those whose persons are accepted; their object is the edification of the Church and the glory of God. In these respects they differ from the good works of the unregenerate, which, though possessing a value of their own, do not spring from a supernatural source, and are not directed to the highest end. The fruits of faith do not indeed, on account of their imperfection, possess a justifying efficacy; but they cannot with any propriety of language be called sin. But they may even, in a certain sense, be called meritorious, so far as Scripture encourages Christians to expect a recognition of their services at the day of account. 'Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven' (Matt. v. 12); 'Whosoever shall give to one of these little ones a cup of cold water, he shall in no wise lose his reward' (*Ibid.*, x. 42); 'Knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance' (Col. iii. 24); 'Behold I come quickly, and my reward is with me' (Rev. xxii. 12). Not only so; but it is implied that this reward will be proportioned to the service rendered, or, in other words, that there will be degrees of glory in the life to come. No doubt was entertained on this point in the Church, speaking generally, until Peter Martyr, though with some hesitation, questioned whether it could be proved from Scripture. And it must be admitted that some of the passages adduced in its support are hardly conclusive. Thus St. Paul's illustration (1 Cor. xv. 41), 'There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars,' cannot, in its primary application, establish more than the fundamental distinction between the natural and the spiritual body. Differences, the Apostle says, exist in terrestrial objects of the same class;

why may not the human body be supposed capable of existing in different states? There are others, however, more to the point. Thus in Rev. xxii. 12, above quoted, Christ says not only that His reward is with him, but that it will be bestowed on 'every man according as his works shall be.' And St. Paul declares that 'every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour' (1 Cor. iii. 8); and that 'He that soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly, and he that soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully' (2 Cor. ix. 6). 'In My Father's house,' says Christ, 'are many mansions' (John xiv. 2), which, among other interpretations, may mean that there will be differences of reward hereafter. Theologians explain the matter thus: There is an essential bliss (the vision of God, etc.) which is common to all the redeemed, but also an accidental one, which consists in special rewards for special services—*omnibus una salus sanctis, sed gloria dispar*.^{*} There is nothing to be said against such a supposition, since even in this life we perceive different measures of grace bestowed, and, as a consequence, more or less inward peace and public usefulness. How much more may this be expected in a state in which sin, conflict, and trial no longer exist? Degrees, then, of glory, proportioned to the more or less faithful discharge of our stewardship here, is a Scriptural conception, and one which has been too much lost sight of in popular teaching. If objections are still entertained to it, as fostering a self-righteous temper, they may perhaps be removed by considering the secondary sense in which the word 'merit' is used. In its strict meaning it signifies an equality between service and wages; the reward is of debt, not of favour; it is a matter of commutative justice. In this sense no merit can be pleaded before God. Even if the Christian's obedience were perfect, it would be only what he is bound as a creature to render, and could establish no claim upon the Divine favour. The word 'merit,' however, is used by classical writers, and very commonly in the Fathers, in a less exact sense, to signify the earning of a gift or reward in the way prescribed by the donor.[†] If a benevolent person offers food and raiment to a

* *Beatitudo complectitur tum essentialia præmium, quod est Dei visio et fructio, tum accessoria præmia quæ beatitudinis essentiam consequuntur. Ratione prioris tribuitur electis beatitudo essentialis, ratione posterioris beatitudo accidentalis, quæ in variis animæ et corporis ornamentis ultra essentialem beatitudinem electis in vita æterna conferendis consistit: non in illa sed in hac duntaxat inæqualitas statuitur.* J. Gerh., L. xxxii., c. 5, § 120.

† This is acknowledged by Romish writers. *Fatetur Vasquez apud sanctos patres mereri aliquid apud Deum idem esse atque aliquid ab eo bono opere impetrare. Jam vero quis neget multa nos impetrare a Patre misericordiarum quibusdam actionibus nostris, absque ullâ tamen condignitate ex parte nostrorum operum.* Davenant, *De J. A.*, c. 513. *Nemo, says Augustine, de se desperet, quandoquidem Paulus meruit indulgentiam* (serm. 49.) Julius

mendicant, provided the latter applies for them according to certain rules, the performance of the condition may be said to earn (*mereri*) the fulfilment of the promise; yet the promise itself was gratuitous. Eternal life, in like manner, is promised to the faithful servants of God, and, further, special rewards to those whose devotion to their Master has been conspicuous; but their claim rests on this promise of God, not upon the value of the service itself. It is just in God to fulfil His promise, on the general principle that he who makes a promise places himself under an obligation to fulfil it, whence God is said to be just to forgive the sins of those who confess them (1 John i. 9), because He has promised to do so, though forensically He forgives them only for Christ's sake. If Scripture, then, connects reward with service, as it does, it is an instance of the exuberant goodness of God, who vouchsafes promises to those whom He had previously translated from a state of nature to a state of grace; the promises are gratuitous, though, once made, they may be called binding on the giver. Thus are the heirs of glory stimulated to 'fill their odorous lamps with deeds of light,' though they are the last to put forward a meritorious claim on this ground. They know and feel that all is of grace, that they have nothing but what they have received, and that God rewards what He Himself has wrought in them—*dona coronat sua*. Such is the sentiment of Paul: he had laboured more abundantly than his fellow-Apostles, yet it was not he, but the grace of God which was with him (1 Cor. xv. 10); and therefore the crown of glory which he expected was not a matter of debt, but of grace.*

The Romish doctrine of merit reaches its culminating point in that of works of supererogation. Modern Romish controversialists, after the example of the Council of Trent, commonly pass over this delicate topic *sicco pede*, or at any rate with a reserve which is creditable to their candour. The author of the 'Symbolik' contents himself with observing that the Christian who realizes the infinite resources of Divine grace at his command

Græcinus senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiæ sapientiæque notus, iisque virtutibus iram Gaii Caesaris *meritus*. Tacitus, Vit. Agr., c. 4.

* Luther's illustration is in his homely and graphic manner: 'Dr. M. Luther said, that in the matter of justification God deals with us as a father would with a son who, by birth, and not by merit, is an heir of his father's property. Meanwhile, in order to encourage the son to cheerful obedience, the father promises him a gift. As if he said to his son, If thou wilt comply with my wishes, and apply thyself to study, I will buy thee a pretty coat; or, come to me and I will give thee a nice apple. Although the son is heir independently of these promises, yet they are given to stimulate willing compliance with the father's wishes. But this compliance does not make him heir.' Table-talk.

must feel himself superior to the demands of the law, and endeavour to exceed them. His love knows, or ought to know, no limit, and is ever busy in inventing fresh modes of exhibiting itself; whence it arises that such Christians not seldom appear to those who occupy a lower level as enthusiasts or worse. Only thus is the rise of the doctrine of works of supererogation to be accounted for. It was, though resting on a solid basis of tradition, naturally rejected by the Reformers. How could they who taught that the regenerate man never can become free from sin be expected to sympathise with the tender and elevated sentiment of this higher stage of religion?*

The learned writer does well to say, 'Only thus'; that is, as appears to be his meaning, to abandon all attempts to prove the doctrine from Scripture. The gist of his argument is that the obedience required by the Divine law falls short of that which the Christian, by the aid of the Holy Spirit, may and ought to aspire to. Bellarmine, as is his wont, is more explicit. His defence of the monkish institute rendered this necessary. For this rests on the distinction between precepts and counsels, between what is commanded and what is recommended in Scripture.† Precepts and counsels differ in several particulars. In *matter*; for the duty contained in a precept is easier than that contained in a counsel; whence, where the matter is the same (*e.g.*, continence), the counsel is superior to the precept; contains, in fact, the precept and something over and above. As regards the *subjects*; for precepts are binding on all Christians, counsels not so. In *form*; for precepts are absolutely binding, whereas counsels are left to each Christian's discretion. In *result*; for precepts, when observed, earn a reward, when disobeyed, a penalty; while disobedience to counsels incurs no penalty, and obedience ensures a superior reward. The three heads to which counsels belong are continence, obedience, and voluntary poverty.‡

The Scriptural evidence is of the scantiest. Omitting that drawn from the Old Testament or the Apocryphal books,§ we may confine our attention to the New Testament. Reference, then, is made to Matt. xix. 12, in which our Lord speaks of those who make themselves 'eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's

* Möhler, *Symbolik*, § 23.

† *Consilium perfectionis vocamus opus bonum a Christo nobis non imperatum sed demonstratum; non mandatum sed commendatum.* Bellarm., *De Mon.*, L. ii., c. 7.

‡ Bellarm., *De Mon.*, ii., c. 7. It must be remembered that these have a special reference to the monastic system: they are the vows that belong to it. Continence is the vow of celibacy; obedience that of unquestioning submission to the superior; poverty, the renouncing of private property in favour of the community.

§ Bellarmine argues from Isa. lvi. 4-5 and Wisdom iii. 13-14.

sake'; to the case of the young ruler mentioned in the same chapter, to whom it was said, 'If thou wilt be perfect, sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and follow Me' (verse 21); to 1 Cor. vii. 1, where St. Paul affirms that 'it is good for a man not to touch a woman;' and to Apoc. xiv. 3, 4, in which they who sing the new song are described as such as 'were not defiled with women, being virgins.' The first of these passages contains neither precept nor counsel, being simply an answer to the remark of the Apostles, that if the marriage tie is so indissoluble as their Master pronounced it to be, 'it is not good to marry.' Since the Jews held the married state to be superior to the single, this objection might naturally occur to them. This does not follow, Christ replies, for unless there exists the gift of continency, the abridgment of liberty which, as contrasted with the Mosaic law, the Gospel enforces is as nothing compared with the evils which may arise from forced celibacy. When, indeed, that gift is bestowed, and the advancement of the kingdom of God seems to demand the sacrifice, the Christian may 'make himself a eunuch' without injury to himself, and with a prospect of greater usefulness; otherwise not. The same remarks apply to 1 Cor. vii. 1, which, indeed, is a comment on our Lord's words. It may be, under certain limitations, and with a reference to special circumstances, to 'the present necessity,' 'good for a man not to touch a woman;' but, the Apostle adds, where there is no gift of continency, it is 'better to marry' (verse 9). The advice, therefore, is not applicable to all persons and to all times as a counsel is, but with this limitation it may well be that a single life, by enabling the Christian to attend without distraction to 'the things of the Lord,' is occasionally to be preferred. But the Apostle says nothing touching the meritoriousness of such a state as compared with the conjugal. As regards the test applied to the young ruler, it was nothing but a test. Thou sayest thou hast kept the law from thy youth up. What law? that of the first table, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart'? Prove it by selling all that thou hast at my command and following me. The symbolical nature of the Apocalypse renders it hazardous to found doctrines upon it; and under any circumstances chap. xiv. 3, 4, must be reconciled with Heb. xiii. 4, 'Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled.'

If the two great heads of duty, to love God with all the heart and our neighbour as ourselves, are interpreted in their full extent and spirituality, no counsel can go beyond them. The standard is one which the Christian may and ought to aspire to, but which he never can reach; and it is the same for all orders of men in the Church. As regards what we owe to God, there

can be no such thing as a work of supererogation; but in the employment of gifts or talents as evidences of love, questions of casuistry may arise, only to be determined by each individual on a careful review of his temperament or circumstances. And he may no doubt arrive at the conclusion that by foregoing certain modes of life (if he can do so without dangers of another sort), which otherwise he would be at liberty to adopt, he will best promote the interests of religion. But if he so decides, he is doing nothing over and above what he is commanded to do; for the command is that he should be willing to sacrifice everything but his own spiritual welfare if the kingdom of God can be advanced thereby. The error of the scholastic doctrine on this point, from which that of Rome is derived, consists in making what it calls counsels a means of more effectually securing eternal life, instead of a means of more effectually serving God in this life.* Sacrifices for Christ's sake will, He assures us, be rewarded a hundredfold in this life; and though He makes no mention of a special future reward, we may conclude that such sacrifices will not then be forgotten of God. But if so, they will fall under the general rule that distinguished service, not as inherently meritorious, but by the gratuitous promise of God, will not fail hereafter of due recognition. The Schoolmen, even the Augustinian like Thomas Aquinas, as they made precepts—that is, obedience to the law necessary, in the way of merit, to the attainment of life—so they made counsels a more direct and expeditious road to that end. This was to confound eternal life itself with different degrees of glory in that life—special gifts with the grace necessary to all. And the root of the system was the making the formal cause of justification to be an inherent quality, not the merits of Christ apprehended by faith.

Scripture contains no counsels, as distinguished from precepts, on such points as abstinence from marriage or the renouncing of private property, because, from want of a proper motive, obedience even to the precept may be absent. 'Though I bestow all my goods,' says St. Paul, 'to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing' (1 Cor. xiii. 3). On the other hand, Scripture does not forbid such sacrifices if prompted by a right motive, the love of God, and not proceeding from ostentation, or as establishing a meritorious claim. The Romish theory errs in attaching an independent value to the outward act, as appears from its artificial classifica-

* *Præceptum importat necessitatem, consilium optionem. Præcepta novæ legis dantur de iis quæ sunt necessaria ad consequendum finem æternæ beatitudinis; consilia sunt de illis per quæ melius et expeditius homo finem consequi potest.* T. Aqu., i. Secund., Q. 108, A. 4.

tion of counsels under the three heads above mentioned. But the command itself is so comprehensive that nothing can be added to it. It includes counsels instead of counsels including it, and, in fact, is never perfectly fulfilled in this present state. As Thomas Aquinas rightly observes, the former is necessary, the latter optional; but he forgets to remark that what he calls counsels may indeed be proof of obedience to the precept, but can never comprehend more than it. The practical results of this doctrine are written on the page of Church history. When a double standard of Christian sanctity was established—a higher one for those who submitted to the three monastic rules, and a lower one for the Christian commonalty—it was inevitable that the latter should claim the right to frame their rules of practice for themselves, and such as were more adapted to the suggestions of the unrenewed heart. The homely virtues of the domestic circle or the duties of public life sank in the scale as compared with the trivial round of ceremonial or the ecstatic raptures of the monastic life. Still worse, nature, outraged, avenged herself, and hidden vices of the gravest kind prevailed under the garb of outward sanctity. The state of the monasteries in Henry VIII.'s time, which led to their dissolution, is proof sufficient of the pernicious effects which the system produced on the victims themselves of the illusion. The open profligacy of the world is less repulsive than that which may be, and has been, engendered among a mass of human beings, with instincts forcibly kept down, but still festering, under the pressure of irrevocable vows. Ecclesiastically, too, it was most detrimental. When Christians were taught that some of their number might exceed the requirements of the Divine law, why might not the redundant merits of these favoured few be applied to compensate for the deficiencies of their humbler brethren? Thus arose the idea of a treasury of superfluous good works, the key of which was in the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities, and out of which, for a consideration, they dispensed what was necessary to shorten either the penances imposed by the Church or the pains of Purgatory. The traffic in indulgences which was thus openly carried on is well known, and, indeed, was deplored by pious and influential voices in the mediæval Church. But no effectual remedy was applied until the Reformation disinterred the buried Gospel and brought it to light. These scandals were the immediate cause of Luther's renunciation of the Papal system. The Council of Trent, alive to the exigency, endeavoured to put a check on the worst abuses, but left the root whence they sprang in the ground; to produce a similar crop under more favourable circumstances.*

* *Synodus indulgentiarum usum, Christiano populo maxime salutarem et Sacrorum Conciliorum auctoritate probatum, in ecclesia retinendum esse docet*

§ 75. Perseverance.

Can those who have been truly regenerated cease to be so; that is, revert to their former natural condition? This question is the same as that touching the perseverance of the saints, but is commonly considered as one of the 'Five Points of Calvinism,'* as if it were a necessary part of that system of theology, and could not be discussed on its own proper grounds. This has been of detriment to the inquiry, since to many minds the word 'Calvinism' carries a distasteful sound, and raises an antecedent prejudice to any doctrine supposed to be peculiarly connected with the name of the great French reformer. In point of fact, the controversy is of ancient date, and in Augustine's anti-Pelagian treatises, it occupies a conspicuous place. It is on every account desirable to dissociate it from any system, Calvinistic or Arminian.

A moment's consideration will show that election, in the sense in which it was understood by most of the great theologians of former times, Romanist as well as Protestant, viz., election to eternal life, involves the doctrine of perseverance. For the elect in this sense are not merely those who have been favoured with external privileges, and who *may* be saved if they do their duty, but those who shall finally be saved; and none such can or will perish. To say then that the elect may not persevere to the end is to say that they are not elect, except in a lower sense of the word.† The elect are those who do persevere, and those who do not are not of the elect. Further, it is to be observed that the question is not about perseverance merely, but about *final* perseverance, or perseverance up to the moment when, at death, we lose sight of the persons concerned. It is possible, and generally admitted, that persons may persevere, or seem to do so, for a time, and then draw back; but it is endurance to the end, until the individual passes into the unseen world, that is intended in the Calvinistic controversy.

From these remarks it will be seen that the real question is not so much whether the elect persevere, as whether the elect and the regenerate are convertible terms; or, as we have stated it,

et præcipit. Sess. xxv., c. 21. It was of little avail to add, Abusus vero, qui in his irreperunt, emendatos et correctos cupiens, statuit pravos quæstus omnes abolendos esse.

* The others are Election, particular redemption, original sin, and effectual calling. See Whitby on the Five Points.

† Alia questio est de electis (as distinguished from the renati) quos finaliter gratiâ dei excidere negamus; hoc enim contradictionem implicaret, esse electum et finaliter perire Matt. xxiv. 24. J. Gerh., Loc. xviii., c. 9, p. 136.

whether a true regeneration can be finally lost. The Lutheran divines, like Augustine, reply in the affirmative,* the Reformed, following Calvin, in the negative. The Lutherans admit that though the elect may fall away the lapse is but temporary, it is certain that they will be recalled to repentance before they depart hence; but the case is otherwise with the merely regenerate. The Reformed divines hold that the regenerate cannot finally fall away, since in fact they are the elect.† That our Church leans to this latter view seems implied in Art. xvii. : 'They be made sons of God by adoption, they walk religiously in good works, and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting life.' No intimation is given that they may possibly come short of this destination.

The question is discussed with his usual depth and fulness by the great theologian of the Western Church, and it may be useful to see how he treats it. It occupies a large space in the books 'De Correptione et Gratia' and 'De Dono Perseverantiæ.' Augustine's fundamental position is, that regeneration does not necessarily imply final perseverance. 'The elect,' he says, 'are those who when they hear the Gospel believe, and in that faith working by love persevere unto the end; and if occasionally they go astray, they are recovered; and some by a premature death are delivered from the danger of falling away.‡' But how came they to persevere, and others not? 'Not through their own care and watchfulness (at least not in the last resort), but in consequence of a special gift superadded to the general gift of regeneration.' And by regeneration he does not mean, as might be supposed, a mere initiatory grace of baptism, or incorporation into the visible church, but a real spiritual change with its evidences. 'Who,' he says, 'can deny that some persons may be called elect, seeing they believe, are baptized, and live according to the will of God? Yet if they do not persevere they are not elect in His sight who knows that they have not that' (gift of) 'perseverance which ensures eternal life, and though they stand now they will surely fall.' 'It is indeed a mystery that to some of His sons

* *Observandum discrimen esse inter renatos et electos. Quamvis enim omnes electi etiam sint renati, tamen non omnes renati sunt electi, J. Gerh., L. xviii., c. 9. Comp. Hollaz: Renati possunt labi totaliter et finaliter, i.e., per peccata mortalia possunt excidere statu gratiæ, ut nunquam in eundem restituantur; electi possunt labi totaliter sed non finaliter; i.e., illorum perseverantia ad tempus rumpitur peccatis procereticis, ut ex filiis gratiæ fiant filii iræ; in statu iræ autem permanere nequeunt, sed per seriam pœnitentiam in amicitiam cum Deo redeunt. P. iii., § 1, c. 11.*

† *Damnantur qui docent vere credentes et regenitos non tantum posse a fide justificante sed item gratia et salute totaliter et finaliter excidere. Can. Dord., c. v.*

‡ *De Corrupt. et Grat., c. xiii.*

whom God has regenerated in Christ, *to whom He has given faith, hope, and love*, he does not vouchsafe perseverance.' 'Let it not surprise us that upon certain of His sons God does not bestow that gift. This, indeed, would be inconceivable if they were of the number of those who by predestination are truly the sons of promise. As long as these persons live piously they are called sons of God; but since they will lapse into a sinful life, and die in that state, they are not sons in the sight of God.* And again: 'Of two pious persons, that to one should be granted the gift of final perseverance to the other not, must be ascribed to the inscrutable judgments of God. Only that the one is of the number of the predestinated, while the other is not, is an unquestionable fact.† It is plain from these and similar passages that in Augustine's view a person may be regenerate for a time, and then cease to be so; and further, that the cause of the failure is to be traced up ultimately to his not having received the special gift of perseverance. The Lutheran theologians, agreeing with him as regards the fact, hesitate to ascribe the difference between the elect and the regenerate to the Divine predestination, and seek the cause rather in the individuals themselves, as free agents whose salvation depends on their behaviour.

There is something repulsive in the notion that a real work of regeneration can ever finally come to nothing. Analogies between natural and spiritual things may, no doubt, be pressed too far; but we cannot suppose it without significance that the spiritual change, apart from which no one can enter the kingdom of God, should be described in terms drawn from natural birth, or from creation. In neither of these cases can a relapse into nothingness be conceived. Once born into this world the personality of the individual is indestructible; so at least, without presuming to define the limits of omnipotence, it appears in fact to us. Whatever changes the bodily organization may undergo, including even the last great change, we suppose the 'I' of personal identity to remain unaffected, and no human soul to revert to annihilation. And as to creation;—we can no more imagine the existing frame of the universe passing into nothing than we can understand how it first came into being out of nothing. If the analogies are to hold good, it should seem that the new birth, the second creation, is irreversible, and that the old saying contains truth, Once regenerate always regenerate; to say nothing of the covenant of God with Christ by which, as the Calvinistic divines contend, it is secured. Certainly, it would seem that a second regeneration can no more be expected than a second natural birth; according to the remark of Nicodemus, 'How can a man be born when he is

* De Corrept. et Grat., 16, 20.

† De Dono Persev., 21.

old? Can he enter the second time into his mother's womb and be born?' (John iii. 4). But the ultimate appeal is, of course, to Scripture. We are referred to numerous passages in which a final lapse from regenerating grace seems to be supposed possible; to the parables of the sower, the vine, and the ten virgins; to the admonitions and warnings addressed to Christians as if their perseverance depended on themselves (which no doubt it does in a certain sense); to the incestuous Corinthian; to individual cases (Hymenæus, Philetus, Demas, etc.) of those who have been numbered among Christians, but failed to persevere.* That a danger is contemplated, and a warning conveyed, in such passages is unquestionable; yet it may be doubted whether they establish the conclusion intended. Two general remarks are applicable to them; supposition is not position, and preparatory operations of the Holy Spirit are not to be confounded with regeneration (§§ 61-62). The Apostle in Heb. vi. 4 declares that under certain circumstances ('if they shall fall away,' verse 6) the persons described cannot be again brought to repentance. Assuming that they were really regenerate, we certainly find a difficulty in supposing a second regeneration possible; but, after all, the case is only a supposititious one, 'if they shall fall away.' It may be said that unless it were possible, it would not have been employed as a warning; but to this it may be replied that no one contests the abstract possibility of its occurring, or denies that sin unchecked may issue in results little anticipated; the utmost we are warranted in believing is that provision is made, and means will be used, to prevent a final catastrophe. Nothing but perseverance itself can be to us an evidence that we are really regenerate. Be this as it may, no dogmatical conclusions can be founded on hypothetical statements. On the assumption, then, that the persons intended were regenerate the conclusion is not certain; but even this is by no means the universal opinion of commentators. There were many in the Apostolic age (and the same holds true of every age) who may have been subjects of spiritual influence up to a certain point, without becoming new creatures in Christ; may have been 'enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and the powers of the world to come, and been made partakers of the Holy Ghost' (Heb. vi. 4, 5), and yet may not have had Christ formed in them, the hope of glory. It is no wonder if such converts, 'having no root in time of temptation fall away,' or permit the cares of this life to choke the good seed, so that it bears no fruit. 'There is a sin unto death,' the Apostle John tells us, but he does not specify wherein it consists, or whether any had been guilty of it; if it should appear in the church, intercessory prayer

* A list of these passages will be found in Whitby, *Five Points*, Dis. v.

for the offender would be useless (1 John v. 16). The warnings of Scripture, 'Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall,' etc., occupy a necessary place in the spiritual training of the Christian. Since no one can read his name in the book of life, nor is a revelation vouchsafed to any one that he shall persevere to the end,* the assurance of hope, founded on the witness of the Spirit and the consciousness of a spiritual change, is the state of mind which befits the church militant on earth. The work of sanctification advances amidst opposition from within and without; through many a fall inward, if not outward; even, as in the cases of David and Peter, through overt sins of a deep dye. *Subjectively*, therefore, or *a parte hominis*, nothing can be more appropriate than that the Christian should be admonished to watch and pray lest he fall into temptation, the spirit being willing but the flesh weak. Certainty of final salvation is not for those thus compassed with infirmity; yet in the midst of trial and danger they may be persuaded, with St. Paul, that 'neither life nor death nor any other creature shall be able to separate them from the love of God' (God's love towards them) 'which is in Christ Jesus' (Rom. viii. 38-9). Among other means which God employs to preserve them are these warnings with which Scripture abounds: they are no mere economy, but expressive of the truth that the Christian, considered in himself, may at any moment yield to temptation; and further, that he cannot certainly know what a downward course may eventually issue in. But whether *objectively*, or *a parte Dei*, the new birth is reversible is another question. The general testimony of Scripture is rather against such a supposition. 'My sheep shall never perish' (John x. 28); we may not dilute such statements by the limitation, unless indeed they themselves leave me: let each passage speak for itself, and retain its full meaning, even if we cannot fully reconcile it with others. The parting prayer of Christ was that the Father would keep through His own name (His almighty power) those who had believed on Him (John xvii. 11); and we know that the Father always hears Him (*Ibid.*, xi. 42).† St. John,

* 'These exhortations, "Look diligently that ye fall not from the grace of God" (Heb. xii. 15), do in their proper nature and tendency import a danger, and tend to raise a fear in men, lest what they are cautioned to beware of should happen to them; whereas an infrustrable decree and absolute promise *made known to all believers that they shall persevere unto the end* tends to exclude all dangers and prevent all fear of falling from the grace of God.' Whitby, Five Points, Dis. v. This is a specimen of that common mode of controversy which imputes to an opponent what he would be the first to repudiate. What Calvinist, however rigid, has held that the secret of the Divine decree is 'made known' to the subjects of it?

† In this last prayer of our Lord the Apostles are contemplated under a twofold point of view—as the official heralds of the Gospel, and as represent-

who records these sayings of Christ, writes himself in a similar strain : ' He that is born of God doth not commit sin ' (live contentedly in sin) ; ' he cannot do so because he is born of God, and his seed ' (the holy principle of the new life) ' remaineth in him ' (1 John iii. 9 ; comp. v. 18). If some who seemed to be children of God had fallen away, he accounts for this fact not on the ground that such lapses may be expected in the regenerate, but that these professors never were really regenerate. ' They went out from us because they were not of us ; for if they had been of us, they would have continued with us ; but they went out that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us ' (*Ibid.*, ii. 19). Their fall was only a manifestation of their hidden unsoundness, known to God all along.

The parables which seem to favour an adverse conclusion do not, with one exception, present much difficulty. That of the sower contains three cases of failure, with the first of which we have nothing to do. In the other two the seed did spring up, and gave promise of fruit ; but in neither was the soil properly prepared for ultimate success. The work of the law convincing of sin had not been thorough and universal. Hence the seeming conversion of the one was but a temporary emotion, such as often occurs in the annals of revivalism, and which, though not to be despised, may disappear without permanent result. The same may be said of the persons compared to the seed falling among thorns. There is nothing in these instances inconsistent with the supposition that they represent certain preliminary operations of the Holy Ghost, which, however, fall short of a true regeneration. The foolish virgins had ' oil in their lamps,' a certain amount of religious feeling and profession ; but not ' oil in their vessels,' not the permanent indwelling of the Holy Spirit. Or, to vary the image, the spiritual water of which they had tasted was not ' in them a well of water springing up into everlasting life ' (John iv. 14). The parable of the vine and the branches is the exception referred to. In almost every instance—indeed, we may say in all—the terms ' in Christ ' or ' in union with Christ ' signify not merely incorporation into a visible church, but personal saving connection with Christ Himself ; and that this is intended in the parable may be inferred from Christ's speaking of the fruitless

ing the mystical body of Christ, ' the blessed company of all faithful people,' to the end of time. To the former office Judas Iscarioth was chosen for wise though inscrutable purposes, and ' was numbered with the Apostles ' (Acts i. 17). To be one of the latter he never was chosen. Our Lord does not in the prayer distinguish between the two kinds of election, except in the significant notice that Judas was always a ' son of perdition ' (v. 12). From not observing the distinction commentators have sometimes fallen into error. See, e.g., Alford, *in loc.*

branches as having, equally with the fruitful, partaken of the sap of the tree, and really grown upon it. They were not attached to the vine by external ligatures. The difference between them and the other branches consists not in the point of vital union, but in the absence of fruit; as, in fact, such branches may be seen in the natural vine. These, our Lord says, are 'taken away'; 'taken away,' though they derived life from the vine. The difficulty of supposing that a visible connection with a local church is all that is meant is so great, that it seems to follow from the parable that not all who are in vital union with Christ necessarily persevere to the end. We cannot, therefore, say more than that, *on the whole*, the evidence is in favour of the permanency of a real regeneration.

That the regenerate man, even if he does not finally perish, may sin grievously is plain from the instances of David and Peter, and indeed is matter of common experience. The question may be asked, Do such sins entirely obliterate the seal of God, so that, if the backslider is recovered, a second new birth virtually takes place; or does the holy principle, however for the present overpowered, retain its vitality, and in the work of repentance reassert its dominion? The Lutheran divines take the former view, the Reformed the latter: the former hold that a true faith may be totally lost;* the others that the 'habit of faith' continues even in the worst cases, and in due time will resume its activity.† And the latter opinion seems, on the whole, most in accordance with Scripture. Practically, the difference is immaterial. Even the Canons of Dort admit that the sense of adoption is destroyed by wilful sin;‡ while the Lutherans can, in case of recovery, assign no other evidence thereof than that which was an evidence of conversion at the first—viz., repentance and faith.

§ 76. Election.

Effectual calling, as has been observed (§ 61), presupposes that mankind, through Adam's fall, labours under a spiritual incapacity to respond to the invitations of the Gospel, even when the privilege

* *Electos totaliter (ex fide) excidere posse dicimus.* J. Gerh., L. xviii., c. 9.

† *Actus ille regenerationis in quo fundamentum relationis est, quia non potest non fuisse, non potest non esse; semen enim ejus quod manet in illo vinculum relationis æternum facit; ut semper sit filius Dei qui semel est. Licet vero semen illud non semper fructificet in fideli quoad actum secundum, non sequitur non manere quoad actum primum; ut vita manet in arbore tempore hyemis, quo nec folia nec fructus ferre potest—Si pro tempore aberrant (fideles) a fide et transite veritatis, non penitus a scopo deficiunt; in naufragio retinent tabulum, in hyeme semen, in paroxysmo rationis principium; nec cum actu perit habitus, vel cum affectu seducto tollitur redeundi propositum.* F. Turret., Loc. xv., Q. 16.

‡ C. v., 11, 12.

of hearing it is enjoyed, without sufficient—that is, special—grace. And, further, that this special grace means more than a liberation of the enslaved will by some mystical grace of baptism, whereby the baptized person receives power to choose good or evil, or is replaced in the state of probation in which we may suppose Adam to have been before the fall. Where this special grace is vouchsafed, and issues in an advance from the enjoyment of outward privileges to a saving personal relation to Christ, Scripture refers it to the eternal purpose of God; or, in other words, special is also electing grace: ‘Many’ may be ‘called, but few are chosen’ (Matt. xx. 16). It is only with this personal election to eternal life that dogmatic theology is properly concerned. The order of salvation includes salvation itself, which can be predicated of individuals only, not of masses or churches as such. The remark is necessary, since the notion of election, or rather selection, in an inferior sense, has a foundation in Scripture, and, as expounded by some writers, errs rather in defect than in principle.

Thus in the Old Testament election is national, and to temporal as well as spiritual privileges. The principle pervades the whole history, but is directed to a temporary object. Abraham is severed from his idolatrous connections to become the progenitor of an elect nation. Of Abraham’s immediate descendants, Jacob was chosen, while Esau was set aside; of the tribes of Israel, Judah was that from which the Messiah was to come. Israel was a holy nation, a peculiar people, chosen out of the nations of the earth to be the depository of the oracles of God. But since nations as such have no existence beyond the grave, the election was not to eternal life, nor is it ever so described. In this point, as in others, the law was a shadow of good things to come, a typical figure of the heavenly reality. In the same sense some nations of the present day may be said to be elect as compared with the mass of mankind—elect to the reception and profession of Christianity. The greater part of the world is still not even nominally Christian, notwithstanding that contact with Christian nations and missionary effort ought apparently to have issued in a different result. Even national Christianity remains, after the lapse of so many centuries since the Christian era, the exception, not the rule. Why should this be so? It may be replied that some races or nations are naturally more susceptible than others of Christian influences; and this, no doubt, is the fact. Western civilization seems in this point to possess an advantage over Eastern. It can hardly be attributed to accident that the Roman Empire has, as a whole, accepted Christianity; while Oriental nations, even those which have long enjoyed a measure of civilization, continue outside its pale. Prophecy forbids us to despair of

the ultimate universal prevalence of the Gospel ; but an earlier or later reception of it may depend upon national peculiarities of civilization and temperament, for which we can assign no reason except the inscrutable purpose of God, Who, in conducting the government of the world, has so arranged it that some nations and races come to the front as depositaries of the light of revelation, while others remain behind. Even in Scripture itself we find traces of this rule of Divine Providence. When the Apostles were intending to preach the Word in Asia, they were forbidden by the Holy Ghost to do so, and directed by the same Divine Agent rather to choose Macedonia as a field of action (Acts xvi. 6-10). What reason can be assigned, except that certain districts of Asia were not as yet so ripe for their ministrations as others of Greece? Even among Christian nations differences exist in respect of the quality of their Christianity, and their religious influence in the world. Some, for example, have accepted the Reformation, with its beneficent results ; others have not. Some are leaders in the missionary field ; others have done little for the spread of the Gospel. It does not follow that those nations which have hitherto rejected the Gospel, or rejected it in its apostolic purity, will always do so, or that more advanced Christian nations will always retain their pre-eminence ; but it is plainly the method of the Divine Providential government that, for wise purposes unknown to us, the conversion or spiritual progress of some should be postponed, while others are more highly favoured. As in the case of the Jewish people, so here there is an election in time which we cannot but ascribe to the eternal purpose of God ; but it is not an election to eternal life. Many nations have been called, but few chosen ; not to mention that some have arisen and disappeared without ever having enjoyed the opportunity of hearing the Gospel. As nations, with merely a temporal existence, and not being subjects of prophecy like the Jewish people, these communities have passed into the abyss of time with their destination unfulfilled.

When a nation becomes professedly Christian, this implies that the Christian church, under the form of a visible Christian society, has gained a footing in it. It implies that the Scriptures are accepted as the Word of God ; that the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments, as well as other means of grace, are in operation ; that Christian instruction is given in families and schools. These are spiritual advantages which as far transcend those vouchsafed to the ancient chosen people of God as the promulgation of a completed redemption transcends a typical adumbration of it ; and place the members of such a community in a very different position from that

of the most polished nations of antiquity, or of those to whom the Gospel has come without having effected a national conversion. They are not merely under the rule of natural Providence, determining 'the times appointed and the bounds of their habitation' (Acts xvii. 26), and possibly training them for a future submission to the cross; not merely under the pædagogical influences of the Logos, who has always been more or less 'the light of men' (John i. 4); but they are in immediate contact, so to speak, with the motions of the Holy Spirit, the special grace of the Christian dispensation. They live in an atmosphere of Christianity, insensibly pressing upon them in the laws, the customs, the social standard, the accepted maxims of a Christian country; all of which the church, without identifying itself with the state, permeates and elevates. They are drawn not merely by the Father—God in His natural attributes—to the Son, but they are drawn by the Son—the incarnate and risen Saviour—to the Father.* On the supposition that infant baptism is in accordance with the mind of Christ, or even if it is allowable, it is a sign and seal of the Divine *intention* that in a Christian country no rank or age should be excluded from participation in the blessings of the Christian covenant and the approaches of Divine grace. Yet experience proves that the enjoyment of these privileges does not necessarily, or in all cases, lead to saving union with Christ. That they should be vouchsafed is a distinguishing mark of grace; but the election is not to salvation, but only to the possibility of attaining salvation—to the opportunity of using the means of grace. A considerable school of writers amongst ourselves stops short at this notion of election, affirming that no other is found in Scripture. All who are baptized, let us suppose in infancy, are the chosen of God (as, indeed, in one sense they are), and *the choice ends here*; with the further inference that the subjects of election are rather nations or Christian societies than individuals.† But how comes it that out of the mass of persons thus favoured it is only a comparatively small number that actually avail themselves of their privi-

* 'No man cometh unto the Father,' in a saving sense, as the first Person of the Trinity of redemption, 'but by Me.' John xiv. 6.

† 'I assert that the election mentioned in the Holy Scriptures is not that of particular persons, but only of churches and nations. And that this election doth import rather the being chosen to the enjoyment of the means of grace, than to a certainty of being saved by those means; that it is only that which puts them in a capacity of having all the privileges and blessings which God hath promised to his church and people rather than any assurance of their salvation, or any such grace as shall infallibly procure their salvation.' Whitby, *Five Points*, Dis. i., c. 3. Note, as in a passage just cited from the same writer, the introduction of 'assurance of their salvation,' as a point which Calvinists contend for in connection with *election*. It is needless to say that the charge is unfounded.

leges, and pass from the preparatory and often transitory approaches of the Holy Spirit to become subjects of His regenerating grace—regeneration being understood in its full Scriptural meaning? If it be replied that it is owing to a proper exercise of free-will, we are on the confines of Pelagianism. The doctrine of effectual grace solves the difficulty; but only to prompt the further question, Why should this or that person come under its influence, and not others? The circumstance cannot be considered as a mere contingency, an afterthought, occurring in time; especially by those who believe, and rightly believe, that every event, whether as regards communities or individuals, is foreknown and ordered by a supreme intelligence. We are thus led step by step to the doctrine of election in its highest form, as ‘predestination to *life*,’ or ‘the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) He hath constantly decreed by His counsel, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom He hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation’ (not merely to the opportunity of securing it), ‘as vessels made to honour’ (Art. xvii.). This was the doctrine understood under the name by all the great theologians of the church—Augustine, Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, the Reformers, English and foreign (with some modifications), Bellarmine, Calvin, Luther himself—and we find it stated in our own Article on the subject. It is the doctrine, too, of our Catechism. The child presumed at baptism to be regenerate is supposed in this formulary never to have lost the gift or fallen from it; pious instruction and example having been made instrumental to carry on the work. He is regarded as a Christian child—a child of God really, and not merely ecclesiastically; a member of Christ by vital union as well as by incorporation in a visible church. He declares that he is actually sanctified by the Holy Ghost, and that he trusts he is one of the elect as being thus sanctified. This is the ‘state of salvation’ for being called to which he returns thanks, and which he prays he may continue in unto his life’s end. Not, surely, a mere access to the means of grace, which may never be used, or a mere possibility of being saved, which may never be realised; but an actual saving participation in Christ and His work. It would be strange if prayer were made for grace to continue in the former undetermined state.

The language of St. Paul, providentially raised up to be the chief inspired expounder of this doctrine, seems plain enough, except to those who have a theory to maintain. Israel, he explains, was as a nation chosen of God to the privileges of ‘the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of

the law, and the service of God, and the promises' (Rom. ix. 4); yet not all who enjoyed these advantages were the true Israel, the spiritual children of Abraham (verses 6, 7); 'for he is not a Jew who is one outwardly, neither is circumcision that which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew which is one inwardly, and circumcision is of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter' (chap. ii. 28, 29). Such spiritual Judaism was never co-extensive with the national. In the time of Elijah, for example, their number was reduced to seven thousand—an insignificant portion of the whole nation. So, he continues, it was in his own day; the nation, as a whole, rejected Christ, but there was a 'remnant' who believed, and this remnant owed its existence and its preservation 'to the election of grace,' not to any merit of its own. It was as gratuitous an act of grace as the distinction between Esau and Jacob which was made, 'the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil,' and was recorded that 'the purpose of God according to election might stand,' or be established—might be proved to be 'not of works, but of Him that calleth.' Thus 'God had not cast away His people which He foreknew'—that portion of the Jewish people for which, in consequence of this Divine foreknowledge, He intended salvation—for whom He foreknew He predestinated,' not merely to privileges, but 'to be conformed to the image of His Son,' and effected His purpose in time by calling, justifying, and glorifying them; the future consummation being regarded as certain, although at present only the earnest was given (Rom. ix., xi.). With the general drift of this principal passage the Apostle's statements in other epistles is in agreement. Thus Christians are said to be 'chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world,' to be 'predestinated unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ,' not on account of foreseen holiness, but that they might be 'holy and without blame before Him' (Ephes. i. 4, 5); to be 'chosen from the beginning to salvation' (2 Thess. ii. 13); to be saved with an holy calling, according to God's own purpose and grace, given them in Christ Jesus before the world began (2 Tim. i. 9). Of himself, as an eminent example of Divine grace, the writer declares that he was called indeed in due season (*vocatio efficax*), but that before he came into the world he had been separated, in prescience and designation, to the work intended for him (Gal. i. 15). Light is thus thrown on the statements of Christ Himself, which substantially agree with those of this chosen vessel. In one sense the Apostles officially were given Him; a selection, however, which was not inconsistent with final perdition; but in another and a higher one, as believers, they and

those who should be effectually called by their word, are described as the Father's before they were Christ's: 'Thine they were, and Thou gavest them Me, and they have kept Thy word' (John xvii. 6). Election, indeed, in the gospels, usually signifies the operation of Divine grace in time; the elect are those who, as a matter of fact, have been severed from a sinful world, and this not externally only but inwardly. The eternal purpose is not so explicitly announced as afterwards by St. Paul; but in one passage it is indirectly intimated. We read in Matt. xxiv. 24 that in the last days of tribulation false Christs and prophets shall be permitted to show such signs and wonders as, if it were possible (*εἰ δυνατόν*), to deceive the very elect. It is not possible, because the elect, as such, are 'kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation' (1 Pet. i. 2). Such is the testimony of Christ and His Apostles, and it may be summed up in the following particulars:

Election must not be confounded with the Stoic, or any other form of fatalism. Philosophical speculations are foreign to the spirit of Scripture, and of little practical moment to the mass of mankind; they should not be imported into this subject. It is not easy, for example, to refute apparent inferences from the theory of causation, according to which every event, and therefore the work of regeneration, must have a cause, and the latter again another cause, and so on until we pass beyond this sub-lunary region, and ascend to the first great cause, on which the whole chain depends, and which directs its movements. Something, too, may be said for the pantheistic fatalism of Spinoza;* and, in truth, to meet it effectually, we must insist on the fact of an independent free-will in man, capable of resistance to the will of God, and this itself is an incomprehensible mystery. Whether true or false, such theories should not be mixed up with the Scriptural doctrine of predestination. According to it, the spiritual prerogatives of nations or of individuals are determined by a personal God of infinite wisdom and goodness, who, not without reasons, but for reasons only partially revealed to us, acts in this matter as He wills, yet not so as to destroy the concurrent action of the creature whom He has endowed with the mysterious attribute of free-will. And it cuts short philosophical objections with the practical appeal, which yet involves a reiteration of the doctrine of election according to grace, 'Shall the thing

* *Ex his facile colligitur quid per Dei electionem sit intelligendum. Nam quum nemo aliquid agat nisi ex predeterminato naturæ ordine, hoc est, ex Dei æterna directione et decreto, hinc sequitur neminem sibi aliquam vivendi rationem eligere, neque aliquid efficere, nisi ex singulari Dei vocatione, qui hunc ad hoc opus vel ad hanc vivendi rationem præ aliis elegit. Tract. Theol., c. iii.*

formed say to him that formed it, Why hast Thou made me thus? (Rom. ix. 20).

The terms 'predestination,' 'election,' 'saints,' 'effectual calling,' represent the same fact under different aspects. Predestination (*πρόθεσις*) signifies the general intention of God to provide a plan of salvation, and has no direct reference to the individuals comprised in the plan. It is otherwise with foreknowledge (*πρόγνωσις*) and predetermination (*προορισμός*), the former of which implies distinct recognition* of the individuals who should believe; the latter, the providential arrangements leading to that result. These expressions relate to the Divine acts before time. Election is predestination carried into effect in time, and, whether national or individual, presupposes individuals as in existence; individual election comprising effectual calling (whence 'chosen' and 'called' are so often used synonymously), conversion, regeneration, etc. National election is one of the stages towards individual. But since the devout mind cannot but ascribe these saving operations to God, election comes to mean nearly the same as predestination—we infer the eternal purpose from what actually takes place in the present life.

Election is not merely to spiritual privileges, but, in its full sense, to eternal life. If churches are collectively called elect or holy, it is the language of presumption—viz., that the reality corresponds to the idea. Human discipline can only separate those who are visibly tares from the wheat, the rest are taken at their profession, which is to be real, not nominal, saints. They may not be so, in fact; but since we cannot read the heart, we are compelled to treat them, collectively, as what they profess to be. The last day alone will disclose who have been real members of Christ and who not. The same conclusion follows even if, with some writers,† we confine the term *ἐκλογή* to the gathering of heathen converts into the visible church, for these converts are baptized on the presumption of saving repentance and faith, of being already inchoate members of Christ. But it is an error so to confine it. As appears from St. Paul's reasoning in Rom. ix. 11, there is also an election out of every visible church—necessarily so, because every visible church, however purged by discipline, remains a mixed body, and never can in this life perfectly correspond to its idea.

Election to eternal life is not conditional, in the sense of being

* *Primum omnium est, quod accurate observari oportet, discrimen esse inter præscientiam et predestinationem sive æternam electionem Dei. Præscientia simul ad bonos et malos pertinet: prædestinatio seu æterna Dei electio tantum ad bonos et dilectos Dei filios pertinet.* Forin. Conc., P. i., c. ii. The *πρόγνωσις* in Rom. viii. 29 is more than a mere prescience.

† Ebrard, *Dogmatik*, §§ 556-561.

on account of foreseen repentance and faith. The point here at issue should be borne in mind. It is not whether repentance and faith are not always found in the elect, as indispensable *qualifications* for salvation, nor whether God in election had not a reference to Christ as the indispensable channel of saving grace. No difference of opinion exists on these points. The most extreme Calvinist admits that the elect are chosen in Christ, and is so far from dispensing with holiness as a qualification for life, that he infallibly secures it by including it in the decree itself. Those whom God intends to save, he also intends to sanctify. The question is concerning the *ground* of election: whether it is *on account* of foreseen goodness, or goodness is the consequence of election; and here the Lutheran and the Calvinist part company. In their earlier writings, Luther and Melancthon, like Calvin, held that election has no ground but the good pleasure of God; but in later years they receded somewhat from this position, not so much in the way of negation, as in insisting on the counterbalancing statements of Scripture respecting the universality of redemption, and the guilt of those who refuse obedience to the invitation; just as in our Article the two lines of Scripture-statement are placed in juxtaposition without an attempt to reconcile them. Some 'are chosen in Christ out of mankind, as vessels made to honour'; and yet 'that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us,' viz., that all men should be saved. The Reformers just mentioned and their Lutheran successors adopted substantially the scholastic notion of a twofold will in God—one antecedent, *i.e.*, a general purpose to save mankind through Christ; and the other consequent, *i.e.*, a particular purpose to actually save those who believe and continue in that faith; and they did so, as the best mode of giving due effect to the whole testimony of Scripture.* But, as thus stated, it does not touch the main difficulty, viz., why the antecedent will, if a serious one, fails to become efficacious? If the reply be, because it meets in some cases with persistent resistance, this, no doubt, is true. But why does it not in other cases meet with such resistance? In truth, the Lutheran doctrine labours under inherent defects. If it be a matter of contingency, who out of

* *Voluntas antecedens est quâ Deus omnium hominum lapsorum et miserorum vult salutem, et ad hanc consequendam dedit mediatorem Christum, eaque ordinavit media quibus parta per Christum salus, viresque credendi, omnibus hominibus offeruntur, seria cum intentione conferendi. Voluntas consequens est quâ Deus ex humano genere lapso eos ad vitam æternam elegit quos prævidit ordinariis mediis usuros, et ad finem vitæ perseveraturos esse: contra reprobavit ex genere humano eos quos præcivit ordinaria media pertinaciter rejecturos.* Hollaz, P. iii., § 1, c. 1, Q. 15; comp. J. Gerh., L. xii., c. 4, § 78.

the mass to whom the Gospel is preached will proceed to saving faith, election, except in the lower sense of national election or to privileges, cannot be predicated of anyone. How can God be said to have an 'everlasting purpose' to bring certain persons to 'everlasting salvation' (Art. xvii.) if, after all, there is no certainty of their being so brought? The very idea of personal election to life is evacuated. Moreover, it is Pelagian in tendency. It is one thing to say that men may *resist* the motions of the Holy Spirit (an undoubted fact), and another to say that they can produce in themselves the *prævisa fides* of the Lutherans; that they can 'turn and prepare themselves to faith and calling upon God' (Art. x.). Scripture declares that faith itself is the gift of God (Ephes. ii. 8). Election, therefore, on the ground of foreseen faith, unless the gift of faith is included in the decree, amounts to no more than saying that if men to whom the Gospel comes repent and believe, and continue to do so, they will be saved; the idea of election disappears. If it be contended that even in the case of unqualified candidates for admission to the Church (*ficti*), the will is liberated by baptismal grace, the reply is that we know for a certainty of no grace bestowed in baptism on those destitute of the appointed qualifications. But, as we have seen, the tenor of Scripture language is against such a view, whether held by Lutherans or others.* If Christians do good works, it is because they are 'created,' born again, to such works; because God before ordained that such works should be wrought by them (Ephes. ii. 10). They are elect *unto* obedience, not because of it (1 Pet. i. 2). It may be added that the difficulty which in Rom. ix. the Apostle cuts short with a reference to the inscrutability of God's ways (ver. 20) would not, on the Lutheran hypothesis, exist, for reason itself dictates that foreseen faith should be rewarded in some way or other.† The question how far an 'intuitus Christi' (J. Gerh.)—that is, a regard to the merits and sufferings of the Saviour—is a ground of election really belongs to the debate on universal and particular redemption. One supposition may be that Christ was intended to be a Saviour of mankind, and then, lest his work should be fruitless,

* See Mozley, *Pred.*, Note viii. The Formula Concordiæ (Lutheran) seems aware of this, for among other errors it rejects the notion that 'non sola Dei misericordia et sanctissimum Christi meritum, sed etiam in nobis ipsis aliqua causa sit electionis divinæ, cujus causæ ratione Deus nos ad vitam æternam elegerit.' P. i., c. 11. What is this but an admission that election is unconditioned?

† Si daretur prævisio, nullus esset locus objectionibus et scrupulis qui moventur ab Apostolo, quasi Deus injustus esset qui hunc præ illo elegerit; nulla enim est injustitiæ species in illo qui credentes eligit et incredulos reprobatur. F. Turret., L. v., Q. 11.

an elect Church must be gathered out of the mass, and by an act of distinguishing grace (effectual calling); and this, perhaps, is the doctrine of most of those who are called Calvinists. Or the elect may be supposed to have been arbitrarily chosen, without reference either to Christ or their own behaviour, and Christ to have been given merely to carry out the decree, which obviously leads to particular redemption. And this is the view of the more rigid and consistent Calvinists, *e.g.*, F. Turret., Lib. iv., Q. 10.

Calvin's doctrine of reprobation* (which is by no means adopted by all that are called Calvinists) finds no warrant in Scripture. It involves the further inference that the fall itself was predetermined—that is, that God was the Author of sin—in order to furnish material for an exhibition of the Divine justice; as the salvation of the elect was decreed to manifest the Divine mercy. This, the *Supra-lapsarian* hypothesis, is refuted by the simple statement, 'God is love.' Not less distinct are the statements of the whole world's being in some sense included in the appointment of a Saviour, and of the sufficiency of the great atonement for all who are willing to avail themselves of it (John iii. 16; 1 John ii. 2; 1 Tim. ii. 4). Even of the 'vessels of wrath filled to destruction' (Rom. ix. 22. Comp. 1 Pet. ii. 8) nothing is said respecting their eternal destiny. On the stage of history, the Apostle says, there appear from time to time men like Pharaoh, upon whom neither the long suffering nor the judgments of God appear to make any impression: fitted to destruction because they fitted themselves. But the fact that long-suffering was shown them proves that no decree antecedent to time condemned them to perdition, either temporal or eternal. Their temporal destruction was a manifestation of God's wrath against sin; this was sufficient for the Apostle's argument, and beyond it he does not advance. It is true that Sub-lapsarianism in its turn is logically defective, which may have given occasion to the philosophical mind of Calvin to complete the theory at all hazards. If all are equally guilty, and all equally under a fatal indisposition to sue for mercy, why should some be pardoned because they do thus sue? It is sometimes argued that the substitution of preterition for reprobation unties the knot. The impenitent, it is argued, lie under no decree to remain so; they are simply passed over, left to themselves. If several persons are in debt to us, we may sue as many as we like, and discharge the rest. 'Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?'

* *Prædestinationem vocamus æternum Dei decretum quo apud se constitutum habuit quid de unoquoque homine fieri vellet. Non enim pari conditione omnes creantur homines: sed aliis vita æterna, aliis damnatio æterna, præordinatur. Inst., L. iii., c. 21, § 5.*

(Matt. xx. 15). The analogy fails, because God is here regarded not as a creditor, but as a Judge and Sovereign combined, conducting the moral government of the world on the principle of punishing the guilty and absolving the innocent. As a Judge, He is bound to decide according to strict rules of justice, to condemn impartially all whose demerit is the same; as a Sovereign, He is bound to carry out the legal decision unless, as regards some individuals, circumstances should come to light warranting on their behalf an exercise of the prerogative of mercy. To make a difference without any such reason, and of His own arbitrary choice, does not commend itself to our ideas of justice. And if the offer of mercy to the favoured ones is to be dependent on the fulfilment of a condition which it is known beforehand they are indisposed and unable to fulfil, the difficulties are increased. This reluctance must be removed in some way or other if a salutary result is to be secured. If removed in some instances, why should it not be in all? If it is not, those who are passed over are virtually excluded from the benefit, and preterition becomes only a milder name for reprobation.* We can only bow our heads before the mystery. On the one hand we are assured that God so loved the world as to give His only-begotten Son for it, and with this an antecedent decree of reprobation cannot be reconciled; on the other, Scripture affirms, and experience proves, that in carrying out this design the Divine Agency pursues a method of selection; that the true Church, in the present dispensation of things, is evermore a remnant according to the election of grace.

In recent times the controversy has assumed another aspect, chiefly under the influence of Schleiermacher and his followers; of whom on this point we may take Martensen as an example, though the Danish theologian in others differs materially from his German predecessor, and, indeed, is a professed Lutheran. But on the subject of predestination both these writers are nearly in agreement. According to them,† predestination means the eternal purpose and intention of God, which can only be the salvation of all men. But as soon as the purpose passes into time and takes actual effect, it assumes the form of election (which, therefore, is not quite identical with predestination), and submits to the law of historical progress and of the natural government of the world, according to which both nations and

* As Bucanus (quoted by Ebrard, Dog., § 565) bluntly puts it: Qui eligit non capit omnia, et quia eligit inter duo vel plura, necessario dicitur, quæ non eligit, repudiare; proinde quem Deus non recipit rejicit, et quem præterit seu non eligit, reprobatur.

† Schleiermacher, *Christliche Glaube*, B. ii., §§ 118-120. Martensen, *Dog.*, § 206. Comp. also Nitzsch, *Syst.*, § 141.

individuals are successively gathered into the fold of Christ—the former in privilege, the latter really. The eternal purpose, in dealing with free agents, becomes subject to limitations. It cannot, and does not, work in the way of necessity; it must attain its end as a history; suffering many apparent failures; now advancing, now receding; resisted by free-will, but eventually gaining the victory; and hence in each successive age it is only a few who yield themselves to the yoke of Christ. These are the elect for the time being; but the rest are only postponed. Their time will come either in this world or the next, and then the predestinate and the elect will be convertible terms; in short, election has only to do with time, predestination with eternity.*

As regards this verbal distinction, it may be doubted whether it has ground in Scripture. Both election and predestination date from eternity. Christians are chosen in Christ ‘before the foundation of the world’ (Ephes. i. 4), ‘from the beginning’ (2 Thess. ii. 13); indeed, every event in time must be ultimately referred not merely to the Divine foreknowledge, but to the Divine prearrangement. Nor would this be contested by these writers. But the view maintained by them rests on two postulates—a state of probation after death, and, to say the least, the possibility of a universal restoration of the fallen creature. This latter, indeed, is openly defended by Schleiermacher, and forms the corrective of his almost fatalistic doctrine respecting free-will. It is matter of fact that the majority of nominal Christians, to say nothing of the heathen, pass out of this life without saving union with Christ. Can we suppose that their destiny is then finally determined? This life must surely only form a fragment of the great drama of redemption; and in the ages to come those who have failed to obtain an entrance into the kingdom here may, by means unknown to us, succeed hereafter. The process of election is going on before our eyes; why should it stop until it has effected its end? Why should not the *voluntas antecedens* and the *voluntas consequens* ultimately coincide? There is time enough for it to run its course, and as the first may be last, so the last may gain an entrance into the vineyard and receive a reward. Then will come the end, when God will be all in all (1 Cor. xv. 28). So Schleiermacher reasons. His Lutheran disciple is more cautious. Admitting that grace may be resisted unto the end, that a state may supervene analogous to that of those beings who say, ‘Evil, be thou my good,’ Martensen can

* That election is only concerned with time is not a novel doctrine. J. Gerh. alludes to Bucanus as having held it, but rejects it himself: Quando de electione ad vitam usurpat Scriptura, semper de æterno Dei eligentis decreto accipitur. L. xii., c. 2, § 31.

only express a hope that no human being will in fact pass into such a state ; to the detriment, however, of the consistency of his theory. Since the assumptions here involved belong to the topic of Eschatology rather than to the present subject, it will be expedient to postpone the further consideration of them until that topic comes under discussion (see §§ 107, 112). If the restoration of all fallen creatures is the ultimate issue of redemption, it is obvious that election can only mean their earlier or later entrance into the kingdom of God.

COMMUNION OF SAINTS.*

'THE visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached and the sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same' (Art. xix.). 'Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's goodwill toward us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him. There are two sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. Those five commonly called sacraments—that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction—are not to be counted for sacraments of the Gospel. . . . The sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same have they a wholesome effect or operation' (Art. xxv.). 'Although in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the ministration of the Word and sacraments, yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and do minister by His permission and authority, we may use their ministry both in hearing the Word of God and in the receiving of the sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness' (Art. xxvi.). 'Baptism is not only a sign of profession and mark of difference whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened, but it is also a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the Church; the promises of the forgiveness of sin and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increased by virtue of prayer to God. The baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as

* It is well known that this clause of the Apostles' Creed is of later date than the rest (see Pearson, note, vol. ii., p. 473. Oxford Edit., 1833), and that it has been variously interpreted. By Luther and the earlier Reformers it was taken to be a definition of what the 'holy Catholic Church' is—viz., a society or congregation of saints. Thus Conf. Augs.: 'Item docent, quod una sancta ecclesia perpetuo mansura sit. Est autem ecclesia congregatio sanctorum.' The word *κοινωνία* will hardly bear this meaning; it means properly participation of some common benefit. But if the emphasis is laid on the word 'saints,' the clause may be understood as such a definition or description. 'What is the holy Catholic Church? Saints, or a communion of saints who have fellowship in certain particulars with each other.' In this sense it forms the heading of this part of the volume.]

most agreeable to the institution of Christ' (Art. xxvii.). 'The supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have one to another, but rather it is a sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death; inasmuch as to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup is a partaking of the blood of Christ. Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the supper of the Lord cannot be proved by holy writ, and is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given rise to many superstitions. The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner, and the means whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the supper is faith' (Art. xxviii.). 'The wicked and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth the sacrament, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ' (Art. xxix.). 'The cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the laity' (Art. xxx.). 'The sacrifice of masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of sins or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits' (Art. xxxi.). 'The Bp. of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.' 'It is lawful for Christian men, at the command of the magistrate, to serve in the wars' (Art. xxxvii.). 'Christian religion doth not prohibit but that a man may swear when the magistrate requireth' (Art. xxxix.). 'Docent quod una sancta ecclesia perpetuo mansura sit. Est autem ecclesia congregatio sanctorum, in qua evangelium recte docetur, et recte administrantur sacramenta . . . Quamquam ecclesia *proprie* sit congregatio sanctorum et vere credentium, tamen in hac vita multi hypocritæ et mali admixti sunt' (Conf. Aug., vii., viii.). 'Ecclesia non est tantum societas externarum rerum et rituum, sicut alie politiæ, sed *principaliter* est societas fidei et Spiritus S. in cordibus' (Apol. Conf., c. iv. 5). 'Hæc ecclesia sola dicitur corpus Christi quod Christus Spiritu suo renovat, sanctificat, et gubernat' (*Ibid.*). 'Sic definit ecclesiam et articulus in symbolo, qui jubet nos credere quod sit *sancta* Catholica ecclesia. Impii vero non sunt sancti' (*Ibid.*). 'Ecclesia non potest ullum aliud habere caput quam Christum. Nam ut ecclesia est corpus spirituale, ita caput habeat sibi congruens spirituale utique oportet' (Conf. Helv., Expos. Simp., c. 17). 'Unde et ecclesia invisibilis appellari potest, non quod homines sint invisibiles ex quibus ecclesia colligitur, sed quod oculis nostris absconsa, Deo autem soli nota, judicium humanum sæpe subterfugiat' (*Ibid.*). 'De baptismo docent quod sit necessarius salutis, quodque per baptismum offeratur gratia Dei' (Conf. Aug., ix.). 'Baptismus nihil est aliud quam verbum Dei cum mersione in aquam secundum ipsius institutionem et mandatum' (Art. Smal., v.). 'In baptismo signum est elementum aquæ ablutioque illa visibilis quæ fit per ministrum. Res autem significata est regeneratio vel ablutio a peccatis' (Expos. Simp., xix.). 'De cœna Domini docent quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint et distribuuntur vescentibus in cœna Domini' (Conf. Aug., x.). 'In cœna Domini signum est panis et vinum sumptum ex communi usu cibi et potus, res autem significata est ipsum traditum Domini corpus, et sanguis ejus effusus pro nobis, vel communio corporis et sanguinis Domini' (Expos. Simp., xix.). 'Vera et Christiana est excommunicatio quæ manifestos et obstinatos peccatores non admittit ad sacramentum et communionem ecclesiæ donec emendentur et scelera vitent' (Art. Smal., ix.).

THE CHURCH.

That Christ came into the world not only to reveal certain truths, or to establish an unseen fellowship between Himself

and the believer, but to found, in the words of Butler, 'a visible church,' or rather visible churches, 'to be the repository of the oracles of God; to hold up the light of revelation in aid to that of nature, and propagate it throughout all generations to the end of the world,* lies on the surface of Scripture. Butler might have added, to satisfy the social instincts of human nature, and to promote mutual edification by the exercise of discipline, and of the various spiritual gifts of which the Holy Ghost is the Author. No complete form of ecclesiastical organization can be traced to Christ Himself; but the foundations were laid by Him. He appointed two visible ordinances, one to mark the admission of converts into the Christian society; the other their continuance therein; and by anticipation He committed to the society (that is, to each one) the powers of 'binding or loosing' (whether by these terms we are to understand the promulgation of the Gospel, or framing and abrogating ecclesiastical regulations), with the power of discipline (Matt. xviii. 15-18). He attached a special blessing to social prayer (*Ibid.*, 19-20). After His departure from the world, the visible church, in the persons of the Apostles and first Christians, came into actual existence. They that received the message of salvation were baptized; 'they continued steadfastly' under the Apostles' teaching, in fellowship,† in breaking of bread, and in prayer (Acts ii. 41-2); and thenceforth it was the rule of the Divine administration to 'add to the church the saved' (*Ibid.*, 47). Every accession to converts was to an already existing body, and through the agency of that body; and the Holy Ghost who united each believer to Christ united him at the same time to the community of those who had already been made temples of the Holy Ghost.

§ 77. Definition.

The name which a Christian society usually bears in the New Testament is *ἐκκλησία*, which is the LXX. translation of the Hebrew word *קהל*, 'the congregation' of Israel, that is, of the whole elect nation, not of any portion thereof. In Greek authors *ἐκκλησία* signifies a popular assembly convened by authority (Acts xix. 39), as distinguished from the *βούλη*, or senate. It is needless to say that in the New Testament it never means the building in which Christians assembled for worship. The term

* Anal., P. ii., c. 1.

† Not 'in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship' as the A.V. has it, which, according to strict rules of grammar would be, *τῇ τῶν Ἀποστόλων διδαχῇ καὶ κοινωνίᾳ*, but in the Apostles' teaching, and in fellowship or communion with each other, particularly as regards the duty of alms-giving. See c. iv. 32. Erroneous theories have been grounded on this mistranslation.

was adopted partly as expressing the fact that Christians are the called—called out of a sinful world ; and partly to distinguish the Church from the Jewish synagogue. The latter term is occasionally used for the Church (Jas. ii. 2), but it gradually fell into disuse. Another name is founded on the transfer of the idea of the Jewish temple to a Christian application ; Christians are individually spiritual stones in the new temple, and collectively the new temple itself in which God dwells (1 Pet. ii. 4-6). Hence the term *κυριακὸν*, or Lord's house, with its derivatives, church, kirk, kirche, etc. The nature and constitution of the Christian Church has now to be considered ; and in the first place we have to ask, In what does its essential being consist, what is its true idea ? Or in other words, how are we to define it ?

The records of revealed religion, which alone are the sources of dogmatic theology, present us with two forms of ecclesiastical organization, intimately connected with each other, and yet distinct—the Mosaic and the Christian—the former standing to the latter in the relation of prophecy to fulfilment, but, as a religious institute, founded on a different principle. What God has thus joined together we may not separate ; but we may and must distinguish between them, if the specific character of either is to be ascertained. What the Christian Church is in its idea cannot be understood without some remarks on its predecessor ; on its mode of operation, its sanctions, its objects, and its results ; what it naturally led to, and how it naturally passed into its fulfilment in Christ. We may add that Romanism, in its various phases and stages, is nothing but the literal re-introduction of the law of Moses under the Gospel.

Why more than four thousand years were permitted to elapse between the promise of a Saviour and its fulfilment must remain a difficulty ; but one reason, we may surmise to have been, the necessity of mankind's passing through a process of preparation for the reception of the Gospel. The sacred history teaches that the corruption of man after the fall was speedy and universal ; and it was consistent with the Divine wisdom to allow the evil to run its course until the effects were fully developed, as they were in the heathen world. In the latter case the preparation was negative. Enlightened heathens, at the coming of Christ, were ready for the Gospel, because every mythical system, and every school of philosophy, had proved its inability to curb the corrupt passions of human nature, or to meet its spiritual necessities. But it is obvious that something more than this was needed, viz., a positive historical basis, especially in the locality in which the Saviour was to appear, directly preparing the way for His advent, and securing a footing for the Gospel whenever it

should be promulgated. Such was the object of the Mosaic dispensation. It may be considered under a twofold aspect : as a school of discipline, and as a system of prophetic symbolism.

The law was a school of discipline. It presupposed in the subject a lack of spiritual insight and self-determination which needed the guidance and constraint of an external rule. Such, according to inspired authority, was the Jew, especially in the earlier portion of his history ; though an heir he differed nothing from a servant, and was under tutors and governors until the time appointed of the Father (Gal. iv. 2, 3). Now a system of education works mainly from without inwards, and by means of discipline and habituation. Innate capacities on which virtuous habits may be engrafted are all that the teacher expects to find at first ; the habits themselves he proposes to form by rules which necessarily wear an arbitrary aspect, and obedience to which is enforced by temporal sanctions. Such, according to the great philosopher of antiquity, is the object of lawgivers in framing their codes ; they aim at educating the citizens by the force of habit.* The Jew was compelled to practise what was, at first, irksome, and the meaning of which he did not comprehend, until habit had wrought its effect, and he had learned to do a willing service. But many generations had to elapse before this result was attained, before the pious Jew could exclaim, 'Oh how I love Thy law ! it is my meditation all the day' (Psa. cxix. 97). For centuries the wayward pupil rebelled against the yoke of Divine ordinances, and to the last the carnal part of the nation misunderstood them. Religion in such a stage was necessarily rather drastic than contemplative ; the act had a value in itself irrespective of the motive that prompted it. The undisciplined impulses of human nature were met and overcome by external authority ; acting, indeed, not capriciously, but still from without, in the way of positive enactment and sanctions appealing to sense. And it is evident that the more the enactments were multiplied, the less the pupil was left to his own discretion, the more efficacious the system would be for its appointed end.

But the Mosaic law, especially the ceremonial, was also a system of prophetic symbolism. Symbolism is the remedy dictated by nature for immaturity in the powers of reflection and abstraction ; as young children are best instructed by pictorial representations. The didactic element of the law was scanty in proportion as the symbolism was rich and varied. And this symbolism had a prospective reference to the Christian dispensation ; it was nothing less than the place where the Lord lay

* *Ἐθίζοντες ποιῶσιν ἀγαθούς.* Arist., Eth. Nic., ii. 1.

(Heb. x.). The elect nation, elect not to eternal life, but to be that from which the Author of life should come, typified the New Jerusalem, or mystical body of Christ; the legal sacrifices pointed to the one all-sufficient atonement for sin; the Levitical priesthood foreshadowed the incommunicable priesthood of the glorified Redeemer. But at the time of their institution this prospective reference was not revealed, and therefore it would not have been safe to leave the Jew at liberty either to curtail or to add to his ritual, still less to introduce changes into it. He could not know what might be a true prophetic symbol, and what the reverse. Therefore, as little scope as possible was allowed to human phantasy, and the worshipper found himself anticipated by a Divine law in all the essential parts of his religious service. And this law was enforced by temporal sanctions, which are out of place where religion exists in its essential character, as a service of 'spirit and of truth' (John iv. 23). Idolatry, properly a sin not a crime, was made a crime, an act of treason, against the Sovereign: in no other way, in the existing state of spiritual illumination, could it be effectually suppressed: the rights of conscience must have been, as with us, respected, and the punishment of the idolater transferred to a future state. The dispensation presented a perfect fusion of church and state; the only one which has ever had Divine sanction. It is only in an improper sense that it can be termed a church; for no church but the Jewish has been armed with sovereign power to secure at least external obedience to its ritual, and by penalties which properly belong to the state. The Jew found himself, as regards his religious duties, hemmed in on every side by a law which, by its incessant and importunate demands, placed him under a yoke of bondage, which he confessed it was difficult to bear (Acts xv. 10).

A system of this kind, however necessary in the infancy of religion, was manifestly unfitted for it in its maturer stage; and, indeed, it tended, by a natural process, to its own dissolution. In proportion as the discipline of the law succeeded in its object, it prepared the way for a more spiritual system. The Jew, as he advanced in spiritual perspicacity, could not but perceive that the ordinances by which he was taught the elements of religion (*στοιχεῖα*, Gal. iv. 9) could only have a provisional use. By the application of the moral law to the conscience he gained ever deeper views of the nature of sin and of his own sinfulness; and this must have led to the conviction that the legal expiations were insufficient—that the blood of bulls and goats could never take away sin (Heb. x. 4). He came to feel that a broken and contrite heart is better than sacrifice, and that a religion which

consisted chiefly in a round of ritual observances could not be the ultimate object of the revelation of God. Yet the ideas of expiation, atonement, remission of sin through blood, so constantly pressed on him, must have inspired an expectation of some more perfect sacrifice to supersede the legal appointments, and to effect what they could not effect. At this juncture prophecy came in, and confirmed every anticipation of the longing heart. It stamped with the Divine approval the dictate of an enlightened conscience, that moral duties are more acceptable than outward service; it did not hesitate to speak of the Levitical ritual itself, compared with such duties, in the language of depreciation.* But further, it opened up the prospect of a better covenant, founded on better promises, of which the leading features should be, the plenary remission of sin through the vicarious sufferings of a Redeemer (Isa. liii.); its expansion beyond the limits of Judæa (Isa. lix., lx.); its spiritual nature (John ii. 28); and its corresponding new worship (Mal. i. 11). Instead of the twilight of typical ordinances, the Sun of Righteousness Himself was to appear, and shed spiritual light upon the world. 'This,' God declared through His prophet, 'is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel. After those days I will put My law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be My people; and they shall no more teach every man his neighbour and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for they shall all know Me, from the least of them to the greatest of them, saith the Lord; for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sins no more' (Jer. xxxi. 31-34). And thus, through these various influences, it came to pass that at the coming of Christ there were many who were 'waiting for the consolation of Israel,' and it only needed the joyful *εὐρήκαμεν* of a Philip to transform the Israelite without guile into a Christian believer† (John i. 45).

The progression was manifestly from a symbolical religion to one of spirit and truth; from a religion working from without inwards to one working from within outwards; from a coercive law to the liberty of a law of spirit and life. When the fulness of the time was come the Saviour appeared, but was preceded by one who should prepare His way. The preaching of the Baptist was no enforcement of the existing ceremonial law nor the introduction of a new one; but the recalling the attention of a people sunk in formalism to the lessons which their own prophets had inculcated—that religion is primarily a matter of the heart, and

* Isa. i., lxvi.; Jer. vi. 20; Amos v. 21.

† Twisten, Dog., § 22.

that mere natural descent from Abraham was of little value in God's sight. The entrance into the kingdom of heaven must be through repentance and a change of heart (Matt. iii. 2). When Christ commenced His ministry the Baptist's type of teaching was not exchanged for another. Christ was the end of the law, not merely as the fulfilment of its types, but as the Expositor of its inner meaning. His first considerable discourse is throughout occupied in enforcing the moral law in its full spiritual import, as distinguished from human glosses and immoral formalism. He chooses disciples (learners) to be instructed, not subjects to be ruled. A ministry of the Word is inaugurated, to be afterwards a vehicle for the ministration of the Spirit. The Christian church did not as yet exist, but so far as the Saviour laid the foundations of it, He proceeded on a method opposed to that of the Mosaic institute. No ceremonial law can be traced to Christ Himself; still less a system intended to form habits by repetition, and working *ex opere operato*. The two sacraments which He appointed were not, as regards the symbols, new ordinances, but adaptations of already existing ones. Lustration by water was a prominent feature of the ceremonial law, and familiar to the Jew;* so was the Passover, on which was engrafted the Lord's Supper; and so was the synagogue, destined by Divine Providence to form the basis of the polity and worship of the visible church. Above all, these ordinances were not appointed by Christ for His church, except on the presumption of a living faith in the recipients or celebrants. Not to produce, or vivify, faith, but to manifest it, when already produced by the ministry of the Word, was the office of the sacraments. They were, as the old writers say, a *verbum visibile*, declaring the same truths as the Word, but after a peculiar manner and with a more individual application. Had Christ come as a lawgiver in the sense in which Moses was, He would, in instituting a visible church, have commenced by establishing a graduated hierarchy, liturgical formularies, and a prescribed ritual, apart from which the ordi-

* It is by no means certain, as is commonly assumed, that the baptism of proselytes was usual in our Lord's time. In the Old Testament no mention is made of any other ordinance for the reception of Gentiles into the covenant than circumcision, to which sacrifice was afterwards added. The same may be said of the Apocrypha, of the writings of Philo and Josephus, and of the older Targumists. The first allusion to proselyte-baptising appears to be that in the Gemara, babyl. Jebamoth, 46, 2, the date of which is uncertain. The practice appears first distinctly in the fourth century. But the various lustrations of the law, and the figurative language of prophecy (Isa. lii. 15, Ezek. xxxvi. 25) were sufficient to account for the question of the Pharisees to John, 'Why baptizest thou, if thou be not that Christ, nor Elias, neither that prophet?' (John i. 25). See Fairbairn, *Herm. Man.*, p. 274; and Winer, *Real W.B.*, Proselyten.

nances would have been invalid. Such, indeed, in after-times, was the mode of proceeding ascribed to Him; but the New Testament knows nothing of it. Believers are to be baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; baptized Christians are to eat the bread and drink the wine in remembrance of Christ's death; this is all that is positively commanded: and the ordinances themselves were only invested with their full efficacy when the church was formally constituted by the descent of the Holy Ghost on the Day of Pentecost.

This last-named event was, properly, the birthday of the Christian church. There is much truth in the observation that 'Christianity came into the world as an idea, rather than as an institution,'* if for the word 'idea' we substitute the presence of Christ by His Spirit in the hearts of believers. Christianity did come into the world much more as a spiritual influence than as a visible institution; and still more so than as a training institution, working, like the Mosaic law, from without inwards. It came, not as a new ecclesiastical organization, having its essence in rites or polity; but as the full realization of the predicted relations between God and His people. It appeared in the persons of the primitive 120 on the Day of Pentecost, as a company of men of whom nothing more is said in the way of description than that they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and that they continued under the guidance and teaching of the Apostles (Acts ii. 42). There was the Church in its true idea, as distinguished from its subsequent developments in polity or ritual. And what it was in the first moment of its existence will for ever determine its definition to the end of time. It is, in its true being and essence, the temple of the Holy Ghost, founded and built up on the doctrine of the Apostles, transmitted to us in the New Testament. Its progress was in accordance with this beginning; it followed the law of all societies which have their true being within; it developed itself from within outwards—not in the reverse direction. When it became necessary to visibly organize; but not until then; the Church threw itself out, under Apostolic guidance, into such forms as were suitable to its nature. These forms grew up gradually, and as need required; the want was always allowed to be felt before it was supplied. Deacons were appointed to relieve the Apostles of secular duties, and Bishops (if, which is doubtful, Timothy and Titus may be considered as prototypes of the office), to preside in the absence of the Apostles. Not because a covenanted virtue was, by Divine appointment, attached to any particular form of organization, but on common, practical grounds of necessity, or of order, the work proceeded.

* Newman, *Develop.*, p. 116.

As long as the simpler arrangements sufficed, they were suffered to remain; when they proved insufficient further steps were taken. Instead of passively receiving a superinduced stamp from without, the Christian society supplied its needs from within, and of itself; that is, the invisible Church, as Protestants call it, preceded the visible. No doubt the arrangements proceeded under Apostolic sanction, or precedent; and therefore possessed a *relative* fixedness of form and continuity; but no Christian ceremonial law, taking the place of the old, is visible; no independent and intrinsic virtue, as if the true being of the Church consisted therein—still less, any virtue *jure divino*—belongs to the external framework. This has its appropriate place and sanctions, but they are of another kind.

The result is, that when we come to define the Church—when the question relates to its essence, not to its accidents—we must adopt the old explanatory addition of the Article in the Creed, and speak of it as ‘the communion, or congregation, of saints’;* of saints not merely by profession, or external dedication (though this, of course, is included), but in reality and truth. And now let us turn to the Romish doctrine on the subject. It is simply the degeneration of Christianity, by a retrograde movement, into Judaism. ‘If anyone,’ the Council of Trent declares, ‘shall say that Jesus Christ was given to man as a Redeemer to trust in, and not as a Legislator to obey, let him be anathema.’† At first sight there appears nothing remarkable in this—Christians, no doubt, are bound to obey Christ; but on closer examination we perceive why the word ‘Legislator’ was used, and not, *e.g.*, ‘Master.’ In fact, it was used of set purpose—to convey the notion that the Gospel is a ceremonial law like that of Moses, only freed from defects which unfitted the latter for a universal religion. It is the ‘new law,’‡ an unhappy expression with which the errors of many centuries are connected. The ‘new law’ is, like the old, a system of coercive discipline;§ with priests by

* ‘The Holy Catholic Church, *Communio Sanctorum*: this part’ (the latter clause) ‘of the Art. in the creed hath a manifest relation to the former, in which we profess to believe in the Holy Catholic Church; which church is therefore holy, because those persons are such, or ought to be, who are within it; the church itself being nothing else but a collection of such persons.’ Pearson, Creed, A. ix. Comp. his observations on the clause in note A.

† Sess. vi., Can. xxi.

‡ *Sacramenta novæ legis*, Conc. Trid., Sess. vii.

§ ‘The church, as God’s vicar upon earth, subjugates the whole energy of man which struggles against the will of God. By her inward discipline the will is once more enthroned supreme, and its energies united with the will of God. Obedience passes by little and little from deliberation and conscious effort to a ready and almost unconscious volition. We are brought under the discipline of childhood. And since to a law, if it is not to remain a dead

ordination instead of priests by birth ; with the sacrifice of the Mass instead of the legal sacrifices ; with a corresponding ritual ; with episcopacy *jure divino* ; and a visible, infallible head of the Church, also *jure divino*. That is, the essence of the Church is made to lie, not in the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, but in sacraments which work *ex opere operato*,* and an external succession, failing which the sacraments themselves are robbed, partially at least, of their efficacy. The worship and polity of the Church became, not the expression of its inward life, but the instruments of forming that life, and forming it on the principle of the preparatory dispensation. Thus Christians are once more brought under the yoke of the law, or, as Luther expressed it, delivered into Babylonish captivity. And it is obvious that it is immaterial whether we stop short at an intermediate halting-place (the *via media*), or go on to the full development of the theory in the Papacy. Every definition of the Church which makes the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, in His quickening and sanctifying agency, a separable accident thereof, and places its true being in its ritual or visible organization, deviates so far from the sense of Scripture, and is inconsistent with the genuine doctrine of the Protestant Churches.

It does not follow, as the Romanist would have it,† that inasmuch as Christ the Incarnate Son was given to the Church from without, the true being of the Church consists in what is visible in it. It is true that the kingdom of God, so far as it was present in Christ, could not propagate itself amongst men save through the human nature of the Saviour—this is a self-evident truth ; but what the Saviour was, or what He came to do, did not reveal

letter, there must be added a living authority to enforce its provisions, God has constituted an order' (the clergy) 'which shall bear rule over His people, and shall bring them under the yoke of obedience to Himself.' Manning (Archdeacon), 'Unity of the Church,' pp. 230-251. The writer was not then a Roman Catholic, but the passage is the more valuable, as showing the real tendency of the school to which he belonged. So another writer, whose career was similar : 'Catholic Christendom' (*i.e.*, the Church) 'is a vast assemblage of human beings with wilful intellects and wild passions, brought together into what may be called a large Reformatory or training school, for the melting, refining, and moulding, as in some moral factory, the raw material of human nature, so excellent, so dangerous, so capable of divine purposes.' Newman, *Apol.*, 391. As in the previous passage, the agent of this moulding process is not, as Scripture asserts, the Holy Ghost, but the clerical institute, of which the Papal infallibility is the crown. See pp. 389, etc.

* Ut aliquis dici possit absolute pars vera ecclesiæ, de quâ Scripturæ loquuntur, non putamus ullam requiri internam virtutem, sed tantum externam potissimum fidei et sacramentorum communionem, quæ sensu ipso percipitur. Bellarm., *De Eccl. Mil.*, iii., c. 2.

† Möhler, *Symbolik*, § 48.

itself to all who came into external contact with Him. Multitudes saw and heard Him who never recognised that He was the Christ, the Son of the living God; and of that Apostle who is especially mentioned as having arrived at this knowledge it is declared by Christ Himself that the conviction was grounded, not upon what was visible in the Saviour, but upon a special revelation from above (Matt. xvi. 17). Nor does the conclusion above mentioned follow, as the same author argues, from the fact that the ministry of man, first the Apostles, and then of their successors, was employed to found the Church. No doubt this was the method employed; God does not, as a rule, implant religion in the heart by an invisible and immediate operation of grace: 'How shall they believe in Him of Whom they have not heard, and how shall they hear without a preacher?' (Rom. x. 14). But the Apostles were not to execute their mission until a certain spiritual change had passed over them; nor did they depart from Jerusalem until the event had occurred. Christ was first fully formed in them by the descent of the Holy Ghost, and then, but not until then, did they set forth to preach. And this relation of the inward gift to the outward commission established the rule for all succeeding ages: the visible Church, in its various manifestations, has ever proceeded from the invisible, not in the reverse order. The Church may, and must always, be viewed under a twofold aspect: as the manifestation and as the instrument of Christ's saving power; it is both the evidence of the Holy Spirit's unseen operation, and the means whereby, from age to age, He gathers men into the visible enclosure, and thence into His mystical Body. But this proves nothing as to the precedence to be assigned to either aspect, any more than the fact that a man consists of body and soul decides which of the two is more properly the man. To the full idea of humanity both are necessary; yet, while the body without the soul turns to corruption, the soul may exist, and perhaps be active, without the body. The Church came into being on the Day of Pentecost, antecedently to the visible organization which it afterwards assumed; and, apart from the life within by which it was animated, the organization would not have advanced, or must have soon collapsed: as the new-born child develops his bodily organs by force of the principle of life within, so in the Church all healthy expansion and outward activity proceed from the animating Spirit from heaven. And so, indeed, writes Möhler himself, who thereby undermines his own theory: 'It is not to be doubted that Christ maintains His Church in spiritual energy by means of those who live in the faith of Him, who are spiritually united to Him; that in these lives His truth, which otherwise would be forgotten, or degene-

rate into an empty form. Yes ; these, who are transformed into His image, are the true supporters of the visible Church, whereas mere professors would not for a day maintain it even in its outward forms.* Nothing can be more true. It is the members of Christ who are in Him as the living branches in the vine that are the true source of the visible activity of the Church, in public worship, in works of charity, in missionary effort ; without these, the animating soul, the mechanism of polity and ritual would decay, and in time come to an end. But what is this but an admission, even on the part of the Romanist, that the specific difference of the Church, that which distinguishes it from earthly communities, and especially from its predecessor the Mosaic institute—that, therefore, which constitutes its true definition stripped of accidental adjuncts—is, that it is a company of men filled with the Holy Ghost (*congregatio sanctorum*) ?

§ 78. *Visible and Invisible Church.*

In the foregoing observations the expression ‘invisible Church’ has been more than once used, and it may be proper to explain what is meant by it. In the Gospels by Christ Himself, and in the Apostolic epistles, especially those of St. Paul, the Church is spoken of under a twofold point of view—as a local society of Christians or the aggregate of such societies, and as one body under one head, Christ. Thus we read of a church in a single house (Rom. xvi. 5) ; of the churches of Ephesus, Rome, Philippi, etc. ; of the churches of Asia (1 Cor. xvi. 19). There is no reason why we should not extend this mode of speaking, though Scripture seems to furnish no instance of it, to the aggregation of Christian churches throughout the world ; which, therefore, may be termed the visible Catholic Church. It is, however, not a strictly accurate term ; for it is not one Church under one Head, but a collection of independent societies, that would be meant by it. But we also read of a Church which is the Body of Christ, Christ bearing the same relation to it as the head does to the human body. ‘We being many,’ St. Paul says, ‘are one body in Christ’ (Rom. xii. 5) ; ‘By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body’ (1 Cor. xii. 13) ; ‘There is one body and one Spirit’ (Ephes. iv. 4). As regards Christ, He is said to be ‘the Head over all things to the Church’ (Ephes. i. 22)—a Head of vital influence, and not merely of authority (*Ibid.*, iv. 15-16 ; Col. ii. 19) ; for enemies can be ruled by force, but this Church is in willing and loving subjection to Christ. Christ loved the Church, and gave Himself for it that ‘He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of

* Symbolik, § 49.

water by the Word,* so as to 'present it to Himself' as His bride, inchoatively at present, perfectly hereafter, 'a glorious Church, without spot or wrinkle, holy and without blemish' (Ephes. v. 26, 27). This bride of Christ is spoken of in the Apocalypse under another figure, as the new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven (chap. xxi. 2). The other Apostles use similar language. By St. Peter Christians are said, from the analogy of the Jewish fabric, to form a spiritual temple, into which each Christian is built as a lively stone, and for the purpose of offering spiritual sacrifices; the Church here intended being collectively a holy priesthood (1 Pet. ii. 5). In the Epistle to the Hebrews these Jewish converts are described as having been incorporated into 'the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, the general assembly and church of the firstborn, who are written in heaven' (Heb. xii. 22). The expressions of Christ Himself are anticipatory of this twofold aspect of the Church. He directs that an offending brother, who cannot otherwise be reclaimed, shall be reported to 'the church'—that is, the local Christian society to which he belongs; but to Peter He says that on the rock of the Apostle's confession He will build a church, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail (Matt. xviii. 17; xvi. 18). He speaks of His sheep, which are to form one fold under one Shepherd, but who are also to be, under another aspect, a scattered flock (John x. 16). Of the prophecy of Caiaphas the beloved Apostle, who best knew the mind of his Master, says that it had a meaning unknown to the high-priest himself—viz., that Jesus should by His death be the means of gathering together the children of God, dispersed throughout the world, both Jew and Gentile, into one body (*εἰς ἓν*). In accordance with this view of the Church, the Apostles' Creed teaches us to profess our faith in 'the'—that is, the one—'Holy Catholic Church.'

If we attempt to identify these two applications of the word 'church' we shall find difficulties in the way. One attribute of the Church, as the body and bride of Christ, is that it is holy; and Scripture will not allow us to understand thereby a mere external dedication to God, as the vessels of the tabernacle were called holy. The love of the bridegroom and the bride is reciprocal; the sheep are not merely called so, but they hear the Shepherd's voice and follow Him, and He gives unto them eternal life (John x. 27, 28), which cannot be said of mere professors. From the head descends a quickening influence to all the

* If the sacrament of baptism is here alluded to, it follows that the church which St. Paul calls the bride of Christ is cleansed by baptism; not that all who receive baptism belong to it.

members, uniting them both to Him and to each other ; among the spiritual sacrifices offered in the spiritual temple is that one, so difficult to the unrenewed heart, the sacrifice of self to the glory and will of God (Rom. xii. 1). But the aspect of the visible Church—of the Church *as it appears*—is anything but this. While the general influence of Christianity may have banished from its precincts some gross vices which disfigured the best forms of heathenism ; while it has introduced milder sentiments and practices in many departments of national and social life ; vital religion, as proved by its fruits, is a rare thing in any local or national Church as such, to say nothing of the corruptions of doctrine which prevail in large portions of visible Christendom. That can hardly be the bride of Christ which exhibits no love towards Him, nor that the body, or any part of it, which manifestly does not derive life from the Head by vital union. It may be urged that this discrepancy is but an accidental circumstance—the misfortune of a particular age, and not a necessary feature. There is no doubt that the visible Church may approximate more and more to its ideal, according to circumstances. To be baptized was, in the apostolic age as now in heathen lands, a surer test of inward renewal than in later times ; it involved greater sacrifices, and furnished a greater presumption of sincerity. Times of persecution, too, are, as regards the visible Church, sifting and purifying. This explanation, however, is insufficient, because from our Lord's own statements the discrepancy is normal and inevitable. The visible Church, or any one such, is always, from the nature of the case, a mixed body—like the field sown with tares and wheat,* and the net containing good and bad fishes (Matt. xiii. 24-27, 47-48). And it is not in human power perfectly to separate the one from the other. Discipline can be applied only to acts of overt delinquency, sins of the heart it cannot reach ; and the latter, if habitual, as effectually exclude

* The application of this parable to prove the mixture of good and bad in the visible Church has been contested, on the ground that Christ, in His explanation, says, 'The field is the world' (ver. 38). Hence, it is argued, the tares are to be extirpated, at last, not from the Church but from the world ; and no conclusion can be drawn from the parable respecting the mixed condition of local Christian societies, or that the tares, 'the children of the wicked one,' are not equally with the wheat members of Christ and of Christ's body. The Church, therefore (it is argued), is in its idea a mixed body. But there is no need, with Augustine, to cut the knot by saying, 'The world here means the Church.' The world is, in fact, the field in which the sower sows his seed ; the world, and nothing short of it, is intended to be the sphere of Christ's saving agency ; but particular visible churches, not one universal visible Church, are the form which the sowing assumes ; and in these it is *an enemy* that sows tares among the wheat. And even one universal visible Church, were such to exist, would be of the same mixed character.

from saving communion with Christ as do sins of the life. The hidden tares and wheat must both grow together until the harvest, when an unerring judgment will separate the one from the other. The visible Church, therefore, never can be exactly co-extensive with the body of Christ; or, in other words, the Church as it now appears is necessarily affected with imperfections which do not belong to the Church in its true idea. When the body of Christ becomes visible under the form of local Churches, some by external adhesion are connected with it who do not belong to it inwardly. Hence the error of sectarian movements, such as that of the Plymouth Brethren. Offended with the presence of sin in the Church in which he was born and baptized, the separatist endeavours to form a perfectly pure Church, only with the result of reproducing a mixed body; on which a further schism takes place, and so on to the end of time. It is a vain attempt, because it ignores the conditions under which the body of Christ is at present compelled to exist in locally organized societies.

There is another reason, too, why the visible Church can never exactly correspond to the true Church—viz., that it furnishes only an approximation to the real position which each member of Christ's body occupies in it. The spiritual aristocracy of the Church, whether as regards personal holiness or special gifts, does not always occupy, as it ought to do, its true position. After every effort to secure its due recognition mistakes will occur: many are last who ought to be first; and a visible Church will never be, as regards its orders and offices, quite as it would be were Christ Himself to distribute them. Official position is not always a guarantee for sanctity or spiritual wisdom. In this respect, too, there is a hidden life of the Church which, in spite of attempts to ensure its manifestation, remains more or less a hidden one.

These remarks may be particularly illustrated by a reference to the attribute of unity which, as in the Creed, we assign to the body of Christ—not merely oneness, but organized unity.* It is obvious that there can be only one Holy Catholic Church, out of which, ordinarily, there is no salvation, two universal Churches being a contradiction in terms. This one Church is described in Scripture as being in organic unity with Christ, as the members of the human body are with the head, animated by one spirit, with a diversity of offices, but all governed and directed by a central source of influence. But this is not the aspect which the

* By organic unity is meant a vital connection of the members of an organism with the head and with each other; like that which prevails in the human body. It implies more than mere oneness in the sense of singularity, and more, too, than mere sameness.

normal state of the visible Church presents. Unless we adopt the Romish theory of one supreme visible head, it is an aspect of division and independence. To say nothing of subordinate forms of schism, the only unity of which local churches, as such, are susceptible, is *sameness* of polity, faith, and sacraments, or brotherly recognition; in no proper sense are they one society, one *respublica* which implies a central government; they are independent communities, formed on common principles, and with the same object, and only so far are one: they are one as the monarchies of Europe are one. The following remarks of a writer who at an earlier period of his career was the chief advocate of the Anglican, or Cyprianic, doctrine of unity, but who subsequently became sensible of its incompleteness, except as a stepping-stone to the Papacy, are deserving of attention: 'It may possibly be suggested that this universality which the Fathers ascribe to the Catholic Church lay in its apostolical descent, or again in its episcopacy, and that it was one, not as being one kingdom, or *civitas*, at unity with itself, with one and the same intelligence in every part, one sympathy, one ruling principle, one organization, one communion, but because, though consisting of a number of independent communities, at variance (if so be) with each other even to a breach of communion, nevertheless, all these were possessed of a legitimate succession of clergy, or all governed by bishops, priests, and deacons. But who will in seriousness maintain that relationship, or resemblance, makes two bodies one? England and Prussia are both monarchical, are they, therefore, one kingdom? England and the United States are from one stock, can they, therefore, be called one state? England and Ireland are peopled by different races, yet are they one kingdom still. If unity lies in the apostolical succession, an act of schism is, from the nature of the case, impossible; for as no one can reverse his natural birth, so no Church can undo the fact that its clergy have come by lineal descent from the Apostles. Either there is no such sin as schism, or unity does not lie in the episcopal form, or in episcopal ordination.* Nothing more true was ever written. Now, Scripture *does* assign this organic unity under a single Head, 'with one sympathy, one ruling principle,' to *some* Church, as appears from the passages already quoted. The 'body of Christ' is described exactly in such terms as the above, as no mere aggregation of independent communities, but as one organism under one central authority. The Romish theory of the Papacy does really succeed in producing something like this; those who reject that theory, and stop short at brotherly intercommunion of independent

* Newman, *On Development*, p. 258.

units, do, and must always, find themselves confronted with the difficulty which this writer states as having lain in his way.

The distinction, then, between the visible and the invisible Church is imposed upon us by facts, and is sanctioned in Scripture. The Romanist does not deny that within the visible Communion, to which alone he gives the name of the Church, there is an inner circle of those who are in saving union with Christ, and who are the real strength, the very soul, of the visible Church; but he will not allow that in this inward life lies the true being of the Church, nor does he admit the propriety of applying the term 'Church' to the aggregate of these true members of Christ. According to the teaching of Rome, a man is a member of Christ who has received baptism and acknowledges the supremacy of the Pope, whatever he may be inwardly; and the Church itself is defined to be in its essence a visible body, as visible as the republic of Venice,* or any other secular community. But if, as has been attempted to prove (preceding §), what is invisible in the Church, viz., the work of the Holy Spirit, constitutes its true being, we argue from the facts of experience and the notices of Scripture that the Church in its visibility never, in the present life, perfectly corresponds to the Church in its truth. That is, that the distinction between the Church visible and the Church invisible is a legitimate one, and deserving of the prominent place which it holds in all the Protestant Confessions. In fact, next to the doctrine of justification of faith, it is one of the leading points of controversy between us and Rome. Our great divines of the Elizabethan age, and even later, were well aware of this (see the passage cited in the next section from Jeremy Taylor). *Instar omnium*, let Hooker be heard: 'That Church of Christ, which we properly term His body mystical, can be but one; neither can that one be sensibly discerned by any man, inasmuch as the parts thereof are some in heaven already with Christ, and the rest that are on earth (albeit, their natural persons be visible) we do not discern under this property whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body. Only our minds by intellectual conceit are able to apprehend that such a real body there is; a body collective, because it containeth a huge multitude; a body mystical, because the mystery of their conjunction is removed altogether from sense. Whatsoever we read in Scripture concerning the endless love and the saving mercy which God sheweth towards His Church, the only proper subject thereof is this Church. Concerning this flock it

* *Ecclesia est cœtus hominum ita visibilis et palpabilis ut est cœtus populi Romani, vel regnum Galliæ, aut respublica Venetorum.* Bellarm., *De Eccles.*, iii., c. 2.

is that our Lord and Saviour hath promised, "I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish" (John x. 28). They who are of this society have such marks and notes of distinction from all others as are not object unto our sense; only unto God, who seeth their hearts and understandeth all their secret cogitations, unto Him they are clear and manifest.' And he adds, not without reason, 'For lack of diligent observing the difference between the Church of God mystical and visible, the oversights are neither few nor light that have been committed' (Eccles. Pol., B. iii. 2, 9).

§ 79. Continuation.

Since the Protestant does not (as is sometimes alleged) make two Churches,* or even a Church within a Church, it is necessary to point out how the invisible Church is connected with the visible. The persons who compose it are, of course, visible. It is not a Platonic republic, or a company of pure spirits; it is not an idea, in the sense of having no actual existence. But it is invisible, to use the words of Bishop Jeremy Taylor, 'in respect of that quality and excellence by which Christians are constituted Christ's members, and distinguished from mere professors and outsides of Christians. All that really and heartily serve Christ *in abdito* do also profess to do so; the invisible Church ordinarily and regularly is part of the visible, but yet that part only which is the true one; and the rest but by denomination of law, and, in common speaking, are the Church—not in mystical union, not in proper relation to Christ. They are not the house of God, not the temple of the Holy Ghost, not the members of Christ; and no man can deny this. Hypocrites are not Christ's servants, and therefore are not Christ's members, and therefore no part of the Church, but imperfectly and equivocally, as a dead man is a man; all which is summed up in those words of St. Austin, saying, "that the body of Christ is not *bipartitum*," it is not a double body. *Non enim revera Domini corpus est quod cum illo non erit in æternum*; all that are Christ's body shall reign with Him for ever."† Nor, again, is it accurate to speak of two Churches,

* *Distinctio illa non introducitur duas veluti distinctas ecclesias, et diversos cœtus, sed cœtum vocatorum κατ' ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον ὑπολήψεως τρόπον, videlicet ἔξωθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν considerat.* J. Gerhard, Aphor. xix.

† Dissuasive of Popery, P. ii., B. I., § 1. Comp. J. Gerh.: Distinguiamus inter ecclesiam particularem et Catholicam. Particulares ecclesias visibiles esse non negamus, Catholicam autem invisibilem asserimus. Militans ecclesia est quidem hominum societas, qui, quatenus prædicatione verbi et administratione sacramentorum, utpote visibilibus et externis signis, in unam societatem colliguntur, ecclesiam visibilem constituunt: sed quatenus ad ecclesiam Catholicam pertinent, interno spirituali et invisibili fidei spei et caritatis vinculo cum

or, like some of our own divines,* of one society within another. It is one and the same Church, but considered from different points of view, according as we fix our attention on its external notes and its visible condition in this world, or on its true essential being. Thus Field 'On the Church,' chap. x. : 'Hence it cometh to pass that we say there is a visible and invisible Church; not meaning to make two distinct Churches, as our adversaries falsely and maliciously charge us, though the form of words may seem to insinuate some such thing; but to distinguish the divers considerations of the same Church; which, though it be visible in respect of the profession of supernatural verities revealed in Christ, use of holy Sacraments, order of ministry, and due obedience yielded thereto, and they discernible that do communicate therein; yet in respect of those most precious effects and happy benefits of saving grace, wherein only the elect do communicate, it is invisible; and they that in so happy and gracious and desirable things have communion among themselves, are not discernible from others to whom this fellowship is denied, but are known only to God. That Nathanael was an Israelite all men knew; that he was a true Israelite, in whom was no guile, Christ only knew.' What, then, is the bond of connection between the two? The means of grace; that is, the preaching of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments; which are the instruments whereby members of the visible Church are transferred into the invisible; so that we must never go beyond the visible pale in search of the true Church. *Extra vocatorum cœlum non sunt querendi electi.* The invisible Church is neither to be sought nor found except in local Christian societies; it is not, indeed, co-extensive with those societies, but it cannot at present manifest itself except through them, and in the imperfect form of which they admit. That is to say, the true Church cannot at present manifest itself in its corporate capacity, as one body under one Head; but only under the form of an aggregate of visible Churches. Of this aggregate, or of any portion of it, Christ is not the Head directly, not a Head of vital influence, but only indirectly, in so far as the Christian faith is professed by these Churches. Of the Church of England, for example, as a local Church, ecclesiastically the Archbishop of Canterbury, politically the Queen, is the head. This imperfection, however, belongs to the invisible Church only during its earthly pilgrimage;

capite suo et inter sese invicem colliguntur; quod vinculum et quæ connexio, cum sit invisibilis, ex eo efficitur ecclesiam Catholicam esse invisibilem. Loc. xxiii., §§ 79, 82.

* 'For because this visible church doth enfold the other, as one mass doth contain the good one and the base alloy,' etc. Barrow, 'Unity of the Church.'

the time is coming—that of ‘the manifestation of the sons of God’ (Rom. viii. 9)—when it will appear in its proper unity, purged from the heterogeneous elements which here cleave to it. The Church militant will then become of one quality with the Church triumphant, which latter even now contains no admixture of evil; and together they will form the full body of Christ. The Romish conception, and every kindred one, of the Church militant as a body containing good and bad, united merely by the external bonds of polity and Sacraments, fails to explain how the Church triumphant can eventually coalesce into one body with it; for this conception is obviously consistent with the supposition that not a single member of the Church militant may be in saving union with Christ. Two bodies so essentially different in quality cannot form one Church. Hence we may perceive the true meaning of the notes of the Church in Art. xix. They do not belong to that Church which is the mystical body of Christ, but to visible Churches. ‘The’ (or rather ‘a,’ for there is no one visible Church on earth) ‘visible Church is a congregation of faithful men in which the pure Word of God is preached and the Sacraments be duly administered.’ The word ‘faithful’ is here used for professing the Christian faith; and for a visible Church to be a true one it is enough that in it the pure Word is preached and the Sacraments are administered ‘according to Christ’s ordinance’; *i.e.*, in all essential points. That local Christian societies are here meant is plain from the mention of the ‘Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch’ in the latter part of the Article. It is not said that any of these is the one Holy Catholic Church. What is laid down is that if any professing Christian society has within itself the pure preaching of the Word and the due administration of the Sacraments, it has a right, as against the pretensions of Rome, to the designation of a true branch of Christ’s visible Church. But further, we may confidently assume that in every such local society a portion of the invisible Church will be found, since the preaching of the Word and the Sacraments are the appointed means of gathering it in. The connection, therefore, between the Church visible and the Church invisible is a necessary one; the former administers the means of grace, the latter is the result of their saving operation. The two are indissolubly united, but they do not cover the same ground. It is on account of this connection that the attributes of the body of Christ, which really belong only to it, are transferred presumptively to a visible Church collectively; as when St. Paul addresses the Ephesian Church as ‘saints,’ ‘faithful brethren,’ ‘chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world,’ etc. He did not, as is sometimes contended, use these

expressions in a lower, but in their full and proper sense. He describes the whole Church according to its idea, which idea is to be found only in the Church considered as invisible. It must not be supposed that the Apostle was ignorant of the mixed character of every visible Church; but since it was not given him to determine who were and who were not real Christians, he was compelled to assume that all were so. On no other ground could he proceed, as he does, to urge motives, reasonings, and exhortations, which his correspondents could not be conceived either to understand or admit unless they were led by the Spirit of God. Nor does it affect this conclusion that he censures various members of the Church for errors of doctrine or inconsistencies of practice; for it only follows from this that, in his view, they were not perfect Christians, but babes in Christ; and babes still are living beings. The Corinthians, with all their deficiencies, were presumed to be spiritually quickened; otherwise the Apostle's admonitions would have been *unintelligible* to them. Even the incestuous person is supposed to have fallen from grace, as many saints have done; and to be restored as they have been. It may be remarked that the question is not about the indefectibility of grace, but of grace existing at the time. The introduction of the Calvinistic controversy is irrelevant to the point here at issue. It may be remarked, too, that liturgical formularies are, and must be, constructed on the same principle; that is, on the presumption that those who are to join in them are real Christians. We cannot frame confessions of sin, prayers for pardon or spiritual blessings, and hymns of praise, avowedly for mere external professors. The forms must be made to express sentiments and desires which none but the spiritually regenerate do or can feel. It is not forgotten that there may be tares among the wheat; but the necessity of the case compels us to take no account of the tares, and to treat them as non-existent. It is not the tares, but the wheat, who are supposed to be worshippers. We deal with the congregation, not as it may be in fact, but according to the idea—according to its *profession*; which profession is to be an assemblage of real Christians, in various stages, it may be, of Christian proficiency. In like manner the visible Church is described in terms which really belong to the invisible; for if we suppose the imperfections removed which prevent the full manifestation of the latter in its essential sanctity and its corporate unity, as they will be one day, the distinction disappears, and the visible and invisible Church become co-extensive and identical—the one body and bride of Christ.

§ 80. *Continuation.*

It is a common mode of speaking, and sanctioned by Scripture, to call Christ the Head of His mystical Body ; but, however He may stand in that relation to the Church triumphant, that part of the Church which is in paradise, in strict accuracy He, as the Incarnate Son, is not the Head of the Church militant on earth. For He is no longer upon earth Himself, nor will be until He returns in His proper person ; and in the meantime He has delegated the active administration of the Church militant to His divine Vicar, the Third Person of the Holy Trinity (John xiv. 16). It is, therefore, the Holy Ghost who is the active and operative Head of the Church upon earth ; though, by reason of the unity of Persons, where the Holy Ghost is Christ is : whence these terms are used interchangeably in Scripture for the Divine indwelling presence. Formally, however, the Head of the Church militant is a Spirit, and is invisible ; and to an invisible head an invisible body (invisible in the senses explained) corresponds.

It is only the Protestant who can really make the Church an article of faith. We believe in the one Holy Catholic Church because we cannot see it—see it in its true glory, its undivided unity, its sanctity, its perpetuity founded on Christ's promise. The Church of Romanism is an object of sight, and has no proper place in the Creed. According to it, the one Holy Catholic Church is an earthly polity, as conspicuous, as mixed, as destitute (in its idea) of living sanctifying faith, as the kingdom of England is. Thus it is robbed of all that gives it value in a dogmatical point of view. Such is the aspect of the Body of Christ which the Romish Catechism presents us with.* What is it that we believe in respecting the Church ? That, in spite of its apparent divisions, its apparent imperfections, its scandals, its errors, as it meets the eye under its present manifestation in the shape of particular visible Churches, it is still there in its essential being ; invisible to the eye of man in its corporate unity, but known to God ; the holy seed, hidden but indestructible ; the true source of all fruitfulness and progress in the visible Church ; the Church against which the gates of hell shall never prevail. In spite of sense, we believe all this ; and so, with other spiritual verities

* Bonos igitur et improbos ecclesia complectitur. Hæc autem ecclesia nota est, ubique supra montem sitæ comparata, quæ undique conspicitur. Nam cum illi ab omnibus parendum sit, cognoscatur necesse est. Ecclesia est una ; rector visibilis is est qui Romanam Cathedram Petri legitimus successor tenet. . . . Appellatur sancta quod Deo consecrata dedicataque sit . . . Apostolica, Spiritus enim S. qui ecclesiæ præsidet eam non per aliud genus ministrorum quam per Apostolicum gubernat. Cat. Trid., De Symb., A. ix.

which belong not to sight but to faith, it forms an article of the Creed.

It may still be thought an improper use of the word 'church' to employ it in this sense, since a church, it is urged,* must consist not only of visible persons, but of some bonds of union, and modes of expressing that union, among its members; without which it becomes a mere union of opinion or sentiment, lacking local habitation or name. A Protestant theologian of reputation, Rothe, sides on this point with Bellarmine, and, admitting that the inward communion of saints is something real, asks, How can it be called a church, to the conception of which a visible manifestation is essential? The Reformers, he observes, found themselves in a difficulty; they held fast to the article of the Creed, the Holy Catholic Church, but could discover nothing, especially after the breaking up of the Romish Communion, in the visible state of Christendom corresponding to it; they were compelled, therefore, to transfer the unity of the Church, with other attributes, to an invisible body, which is a contradiction in terms.† It is unnecessary to ask how far the learned author's theory that the state is the form in which the Church must eventually lose its distinctive character may have influenced him in his opposition to a fundamental tenet of Protestantism; but the objections themselves do not seem of much weight. In the first place, the attribute even of corporate visibility is not absolutely denied to the invisible Church; it is only postponed. What is affirmed is that in its present imperfect state, in which neither the aggregate of visible churches nor any one visible church (did such exist) can be a perfect manifestation of it, its substantial and most real unity cannot be an object of sense; an imperfection, however, which will in due time be supplied by the 'manifestation of the sons of God' under a visible head, Christ. But, further, it is a narrow and superficial view of the 'communion of saints' to suppose that it can only be manifested by joint use of sacraments, or joint submission to ecclesiastical authority. Far deeper, far more real, are the spiritual ligatures which even now knit the body of Christ into a whole: one faith by which all its members depend on Christ; one Holy Spirit by Whom they are all quickened and sanctified; one hope which they all entertain; one principle of love by which all are animated. The members of the body may

* Non dici potest societas nisi in externis et visibilibus signis consistat; nam non est societas nisi se agnoscant ii qui dicuntur socii; non autem se possunt agnoscere nisi societatis vincula sint externa et visibilia. Bellarm., *De Eccl. Mil.*, L. iii., c. 12. The Protestant may admit this, and yet hold that there are other vincula besides the sacraments and the Papal hierarchy, and, generally, besides the external organization of a church.

† Rothe, *Anfänge der christlichen Kirche*, § 14.

be scattered here and there, in the various Churches which make up visible Christendom ; but the unity of the Spirit survives local separation, and wherever two or three real Christians are gathered together with Christ by His Spirit in the midst, whether to hear the Word, or to engage in prayer, or to join in the anthem of praise, or to form plans for the evangelization of the world, they know that all other real Christians are one with them—even those whom they have never seen or can see in the flesh. Compared with this spiritual communion, what would be, *e.g.*, the spread of episcopacy or of a liturgical ritual throughout the world ? The chaff to the wheat. Such external bonds of union would, after all, possess value only as a manifestation of the unseen unity of the Spirit ; apart from it they would be a forced, artificial product, without power of growth and adaptation to circumstances. We may ask, too, how could the departed saints have fellowship with us if these external bonds of union are the only essential ones, since they are confessedly but provisional and temporary, and do not pass into the world of light and love beyond the grave ? Certainly *some* mode of manifesting its existence is essential to the Church invisible ; but the demand is abundantly satisfied by the fruits of the Spirit, active and contemplative, which make Christians the salt both of the visible Church and the world, the instruments of arresting decay in the mass of professors and of reviving spiritual life where, through adverse influences, it has lost its vigour.

§ 81. *The Christian Ministry.*

The Confession of Augsburg thus expresses itself on this subject : ‘That we may attain to saving faith, the ministry of the Word and the Sacraments was instituted. For through the Word and the Sacraments as instruments, the Holy Spirit, the Author of faith, is given. They’ (*i.e.*, the Protestants) ‘condemn the Anabaptists, whose opinion it is that the Holy Spirit is given to men apart from the external Word.’* And so the first Helvetic Confession (or Expos. Simp.) : ‘God has always employed ministers to establish and govern His Church. He employs them now, and will do so as long as there is a Church upon earth. The origin, therefore, institution, and office of Christian ministers are from God Himself. God, indeed, could by an immediate exercise of His power gather a Church out of mankind ; but He chooses rather to deal with men through the ministry of men.’† Nor do the Romish formularies, in the abstract, speak otherwise.‡ All branches of the Christian Church, then, agree in holding that

* Conf. Aug., Art. 5.

† Expos. Simp., c. 18.

‡ Conc. Trid., Sess. xxiii., c. 1.

the Christian ministry, whatever different notions may be entertained of its nature and constitution, is of Divine institution. This, however, is not sufficiently to the point. In a certain sense, all the natural relations of superior and inferior by which society is held together are of Divine origin; as, for example, those of parents and children, governors and subjects. 'The powers that be are ordained of God' (Rom. xiii. 1). But it is not thus that we speak of the Christian ministry as of Divine appointment. It is a part of the special economy of grace—one of the supernatural provisions of the religion of redemption. It is the gift of Christ to the Church; and our present inquiry is, how far and in what sense it can be traced to the appointment of Christ. Everything in Christianity, really *jure divino*, must, directly or indirectly, be derived from this source.

On examining the New Testament we find that Christ appointed the ministry, in its outward form, no further than that He appointed Apostles for various functions and with special qualifications. He chose the twelve to be His constant associates, in order to receive at first hand the impress of that personality which stands alone in history, and which they have transmitted to us in the gospels; to be the chosen witnesses of His resurrection; to receive from His lips, after that event, such instruction in 'things pertaining to the kingdom of God,' its nature and ordinances, as they were able to receive (Acts i. 3); to be present at His ascension; and after His departure to exercise supreme authority in the Church when it should formally come into existence. Their properly ministerial function dates from an early period, but it was also the last charge committed to them by their Master. They were to go forth and preach the Gospel to every creature, to the Jew first, and then to the Gentile. The Sacrament of Christ's body and blood had already been instituted in their persons, and now they were commanded to admit disciples of all nations into the visible Church by baptism. Not merely a missionary, but a pastoral charge was laid upon them; for we cannot suppose that the command to Peter to feed the sheep and the lambs of Christ's flock (John xxi. 15, 16) was given to him in a personal capacity, and not rather as a representative of the Apostolic college.* The Apostles may, in fact,

* The Passage (John xx. 21-23), usually understood to refer to the Apostles alone, has not been quoted in this connection, because the evidence is not clear that it does refer to them alone. In Luke xxiv. 36, we have evidently another account of the same transaction. On the evening of the day on which Christ rose, it is said by that Evangelist that the two disciples whom He accompanied to Emmaus returned to Jerusalem, and reported what had occurred to 'the eleven and them that were with them' (ver. 33); that is, to the whole body of believers then present. To this body, then, the commission

be regarded under three aspects. On some occasions they represent the whole body of believers, as at the institution of the Lord's Supper. After the departure of Judas the Apostles were 'clean through the word' that Christ had spoken unto them (John xv. 3)—fit representatives of the blessed company of all faithful people to the end of time.* To them, in this capacity, our Lord gave the symbols of His body broken and His blood shed, and in them, to His Church, until He should come again. Here their official character is merged in their Christian. Again, they were to be the special instruments of the Holy Spirit in founding and building up the Church; the ultimate authority in matters of faith and practice; for the discharge of which office they received, as no Christians have since received, the gift of inspiration. And, lastly, they were, as has been observed, ministers of Christ—prototypes, in their offices of preaching and pastoral work, of the ordinary Christian ministry, and as such a distinct order in the Church. From this it will be seen in what sense they have successors. As inspired teachers and rulers of the Church they can have no successors. We are built upon 'the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles' (Ephes. ii. 20); but a foundation does not repeat itself. We may have ten thousand instructors in the faith, but we have not, and cannot have, many fathers (1 Cor. iv. 15). Nor is there any necessity for such a personal succession. For though the men were removed one after another, their place was taken, under a superintending Providence, by their writings, in which, though dead, they yet speak. The New Testament Scriptures are the only real Apostolate which the Church now possesses; and, we may add, the only one which is suitable to the spiritual constitution of the Church, as the temple of the Holy Ghost. In every Christian society which is in a healthy state Matthew, John, Paul, Peter still decide points of doctrine, order its affairs, and preside in its councils with undisputed authority. As representatives of the

recorded in John xx. 21-23 was addressed. The Church is sent as Christ Himself was sent, and to the Church it belongs to remit and retain sins (Comp. Matt. xviii. 18). It is thus that Augustine correctly understood the passage; viz., as applying not to the Apostles only but to the whole Church. 'Deus habitat in templo suo, hoc est in sanctis suis fidelibus; in ecclesiæ sua: per eos dimittit peccata qui viva templa sunt.' Sermon. xcix. 9. 'Ergo si ecclesiæ personam gerebant (Apostoli), et si hoc dictum est *tanquam ipsi ecclesiæ diceretur*, pax ecclesiæ dimittit peccata.' De Bapt. Cont. Don., iii., 18.

* So the author ventures to understand this passage. It seems natural to understand 'the word which I have spoken unto you,' of that word, 'One of you shall betray Me' (c. xiii. 21); which, in fact, was the means of separating the dead branch from the living branches, and leaving the latter comparatively 'clean'; sincere though imperfect believers.

mystical body of Christ, the Apostles have successors only in the sense that the true Church never can fail nor the gates of Hades prevail against it. But, as ministers of Christ, they are the predecessors of all Christian ministers; their office, stripped of its personal prerogatives, propagates itself; the functions of preaching and teaching never can become obsolete. Their example, especially that of St. Paul, is that to which Christian ministers must evermore endeavour to conform. In this sense it is true that no ministry deserves the name of Christian which is not Apostolical or derived from the Apostles.

What notion we are to form of this derivation from the Apostles is a matter of primary moment. There are but two theories on this point, substantially distinct. We may suppose either that the sacred office is constituted from without, and descends in a certain line, irrespectively of moral or spiritual qualifications; or that it springs from within, and descends, it may be, in an ascertainable line of succession, but not without regard to the *fitness* of the possessor. The former is the mode peculiar to the Law of Moses; the latter belongs to the Gospel. The Levitical priesthood was instituted *ab extra*—that is, a certain family was arbitrarily chosen to discharge the office—and the priesthood descended from father to son by natural birth, liable, no doubt, to forfeiture for misconduct, as in Eli's case, but otherwise independent of personal qualifications. This was quite in harmony with a system, typical in structure, and intended to operate on the subject from without inwards. Natural birth, the holy garments, anointing with oil, and typical sacrifices, consecrated the priest of the old covenant (Exod. xxviii., xxix.). And this is the theory of Rome. Faithful to its fundamental principle of transmuting the Gospel into the law, it approximates in this point most closely to the legal institute. There is the same idea of a purely external succession with inherited powers, for the absence of which no fulness of natural or spiritual endowment can compensate;* only, instead of priests by natural, we have priests by spiritual descent; the existing body of Bishops having the power, in and by the Sacrament of Orders, of spiritually generating pastors for the Church. If we ask, what is the gift transmitted? the answer is, the sacramental grace of orders; that is, not increase of sanctifying grace, not grace to use natural or acquired endowments aright, but a mystical grace of priesthood for the valid performance of holy functions; which grace is quite separable from spiritual renovation. And as the priests of the law were always priests, no one having it in his power to

* *Fateri oportet in eâ (Ecclesia) novum esse visibile et externum sacerdotium, in quod vetus translatus est.* Conc. Trid., Sess. xxiii., c. 1.

reverse his natural birth, so in order to confer the same permanency of office on the priests of the new law, the doctrine of the 'impressed character,' or spiritual stamp, was invented ; which, conferred at ordination, for ever distinguishes him who receives it from his brethren in Christ.*

The point in debate is not concerning an Apostolic succession of *doctrine*, which, as our Article declares, is the test of the legitimacy of a visible Church. 'The pure Word of God preached' in any Christian society, whatever may be its history or its constitution, connects that society with the Apostolic Church. That is to say, the claim of that society to be a true portion of the visible Church depends not on episcopal succession, but on the correspondence of its professed doctrine with that of the Apostles, as found in Holy Scripture. Nor is it the question whether the ministerial commission is to descend from the existing body of ministers or to be derived from the popular voice. Although the consent of the general body was always required to the appointment of ministers, we find no trace in Scripture of the rule that the delegated authority to preach or to rule proceeded from it. The Apostles themselves received their commission from Christ, and from no lower authority. When it became necessary to appoint deacons the Church was directed to select qualified persons, but the Apostles formally set them apart to the new office by the imposition of hands (Acts vi. 6). When a further addition was made to the ministry the Apostles are said to have 'ordained elders in every church' (Acts xiv. 23);† not, we may be sure, without the consent of each church, however expressed, but still reserving to themselves the formal act of investment. In the Apostolic epistles to churches we find no allusion to what, had it belonged to them, would surely have been one of the most important duties ; viz., the appointment or removal of their pastors. In the pastoral epistles it is to existing ministers—Timothy and Titus, Apostolic delegates—to whom directions on this point are given. But if so, the Apostles are the first link in the chain, and there is no reason why a succession, as regards the external commission, should not proceed from age to age, the existing body of ministers handing down the official authority to their successors, and these latter in turn to theirs. It is obvious that an important counterpoise would

* Episcopus (in sacramento ordinis) inquit, Accipe potestatem offerendi sacrificium, etc. ; quibus verbis semper docuit Ecclesia, dum materia exhibetur, potestatem consecrandæ Eucharistiæ, caractere animo impresso, tradi. Cat. Con. Trid., p. 2, c. ii., § 22. Si quis dixerit . . . eum qui sacerdos semel fuit laicum rursus fieri posse, anathema sit. Conc. Trid., Sess. xxiii., Can. 4.

† Χειροτονῆν (ver. 23) may no doubt have the meaning of appointing by vote ; but the other signification is also well established.

thus exist to popular influence, sure to make itself unduly felt wherever the minister is looked upon as a creature of the congregation. It is one of the many defects of the Independent, or Congregational, regimen that, in the point before us, it is not in harmony with Scripture precedent. The erroneous notion that a single congregation under its pastor, and that only, is a Church in the Scriptural sense of the word, not only reduces the Christian body in any locality to a collection of atoms, lacking in higher forms of unity, but excludes the idea of a ministerial devolution of office. On the removal of a pastor the congregation proceeds to elect a successor; but there is no recognised body of ministers to transmit the commission. An attempt is sometimes made to remedy the defect by inviting neighbouring pastors to assist in the setting apart of the new minister; but this is only regarded as an act of brotherly recognition. The qualifications of the candidate are not formally authenticated by any official college, and his call proceeds not from above, but from below.*

It is with the inner constitution and origin of the ministry that we are at present concerned; and as against the Romish doctrine of a transmission of certain gifts and powers, mystical but not moral, with its indelible character (this too mystical, not moral), we gather from the New Testament that the Christian ministry is primarily a gift from above, not tied to any official act, but proceeding directly from the Holy Ghost, and only secondarily an office. It is founded on the spiritual priesthood of all Christians, as that principle was recovered and enunciated at the Reformation. Each Christian, and the whole Church, is a temple of the Holy Ghost (1 Cor. vi. 19; 2 Cor. vi. 16); each Christian is empowered and exhorted to exercise priestly functions, to offer up spiritual sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving, and of the willing devotion of the heart. Invested with this privilege, he needs no earthly priesthood to intervene between himself and God; through the one incommunicable priesthood of the Redeemer he draws near to the throne of grace, in the full assurance of faith. If it be suggested that the Jewish people was

* The Protestant formularies, and chief theologians, insist on this principle, as explained in the text: 'Qui electi sunt ordinentur a senioribus cum orationibus publicis et impositione manuum.' *Expos. Simp.*, c. 18. 'Nec quisquam nisi ecclesiæ et imprimis ejus antistitum assensu subsequente, per ecclesiæ electionem ad ministerium vocatus, et per ordinationem, seu manuum impositionem, a presbyterio confirmatus, ministerium in ecclesiâ exercere potest.' *Decl. Thorun.*, De ord. 'Presbyterio competit examen, ordinatio, et inauguratio.' *J. Gerh.*, L. 24., c. iii., § 4. 'Præesse electioni (ministeriorum) debent alii pastores, ne quid vel per levitatem, vel per mala studia, vel per tumultum, a multitudine peccetur.' *Calv.*, *Inst.*, L. iv., c. iii., § 15.

also called a kingdom of priests, and yet had earthly mediators, we reply that this dignity was indeed promised to the Jews, but on a condition, which condition never was or could be fulfilled by the Jew as such. 'If ye will obey My voice indeed, and keep My covenant, then shall ye be unto Me a kingdom of priests and an holy nation' (Exod. xix. 5, 6). The command stood over against the Jewish people, but it was never obeyed; and this because the law was not written on their heart. The privilege was conditional, and failed through the weakness of the flesh; and so they never collectively became a kingdom of priests. And the Divine prescience had arranged for this defect, by providing from the first an earthly priesthood to mediate between a sinful nation and a holy God. The Law issued requirements which unaided human nature could never satisfy, and therefore it only convinced of sin. The Levitical institute was a standing memorial that the ideal set before the typical Church could not be reached under that dispensation, and by it there was 'a remembrance of sins' daily and yearly (Heb. x. 3), sins not yet taken away. But the promise of the Gospel is that the law shall be written on the hearts of believers—they shall be all taught of God; and the true Church, the mystical body of Christ, is really a holy priesthood, though not as yet perfect. Hence all priestly, all ministerial functions, reduced to their essence, belong to the whole Church, and to each member thereof. In the last resort the Christian ministry is constituted in the very being of the Church, and is no mere appendage *ab extra*.

Yet not every Christian is called to the exercise of special ministerial functions. For on the basis of the universal priesthood there was vouchsafed to the Church, as an essential feature of the New Dispensation, a vast variety of particular spiritual gifts, all manifestations of the same Spirit, and all intended for edification. 'As the human body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ' (Christ and His Church). 'To one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another, the word of knowledge, by the same Spirit; to another, faith; to another, the gifts of healing; to another, the working of miracles; to another, prophecy; to another, discerning of spirits; to another, divers kinds of tongues; to another, the interpretation of tongues. But all these worketh one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will' (1 Cor. xii. 8-11). Some confusion of thought has arisen from supposing that St. Paul here intended to enumerate different *orders* of the ministry,* but no permanent

* 'To make us understand that we must not confound the functions in the Church with the gifts of the Spirit, much less mistake the one for the other,

orders (the Apostolate was not such), except presbyters and deacons, appear in the New Testament. What the Apostle is speaking of is not offices, but gifts, as appears from the fact that several of the functions named might be united in one person. Thus an Apostle might be an 'evangelist' and a 'teacher'; and so might a deacon, as appears from the instance of Philip (Acts viii.); a 'prophet' might be a 'pastor,' and a 'pastor' a 'prophet,' and both might be 'helpers' and 'governors.' What we learn from these and similar passages is, that the ministry, as it comes directly from Christ, is a gift rather than an office; and that it is the Holy Ghost who, in the last resort, gives overseers to the Church. The natural ministry—that is, persons gifted but not yet commissioned—exists before the formal; the gift precedes the office; the office is supposed to be conferred on those who possess the inward qualification; and this latter comes from the Holy Spirit, Who refuses to be tied in His operations, and distributes to every man severally as He wills. That these miraculous gifts have long ceased is true: they were bestowed for a temporary purpose, and, having served it, gradually disappeared. The transition to the normal state is visible in St. Paul's pastoral epistles. In place of what we see in 1 Cor. xiv., when one member had 'a psalm,' another 'a tongue,' a third 'a revelation,' a fourth 'an interpretation,' a fifth 'a doctrine'; of none of which gifts does the Apostle discourage the exercise, only laying down the rule that 'all things be done decently and in order'; natural aptitude, moral qualifications, the habitual graces of 'power and love and of a sound mind,' are what St. Paul directs Timothy to require in presbyters and deacons. The gift of 'discerning spirits' gives place to examination of candidates for the sacred office; proved ability succeeds to miraculous 'helps and governments'; natural endowments, sanctified to holy purposes, are to be employed. But though circumstances may change, the principles of the new economy remain the same in every age; and these, on the point

let us number the gifts of the Spirit that are noted in this one chapter (1 Cor. xii.), and see whether the public functions of the Church can in any way be proportioned unto them. Here are nine gifts of the Holy Ghost mentioned; and I trust there were not so many distinct offices in the Church. He (St. Paul) speaketh indeed (Rcm. xii.) of divers gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit; of divers offices he speaketh not.' Bilson, *Perpet. Gov.*, c. x. 'I beseech them, therefore, which have hitherto troubled the Church with questions about degrees and offices of ecclesiastical calling, because they principally ground themselves upon two places (1 Cor. xii., Ephes. iv.), that, all partiality being laid aside, they would sincerely weigh and examine whether they have not misinterpreted both places; and all by surmising incompatible effects when nothing is meant but sundry graces, gifts, and abilities, which Christ bestowed.' Hooker, *E. P.*, v., c. 78.

before us, are that even the permanent ministry is not given from without, but is inherent in the spiritual constitution of the Church : in its essence, or as it emanates directly from Christ, it is a gift rather than an office.

Yet due cautions are to be observed. Not everyone who conceives he has a gift, and perhaps is not mistaken, is at liberty, without authority committed to him, to come forward as a teacher. In the earliest age great liberty prevailed on this point, as it did in the Jewish synagogue ; and the Apostle Paul, far from desiring to abridge this liberty, exhorts the Thessalonians ‘not to quench the Spirit’ or ‘despise prophesyings.’* With the cessation, however, of extraordinary gifts, as a counterpoise to which that of ‘discerning spirits’ existed in the Apostolic Church, other arrangements became necessary. False prophets and false spirits appeared in the Christian assemblies ; doctrines not of heavenly origin began to be taught. It was no longer safe to trust to unpremeditated efforts, or to allow the natural ministry free scope ; for experience had shown that it might not be really an endowment of the Holy Ghost. Rules, restrictions, the application of tests became necessary to ensure, as far as might be, that the gift was from above. And then was seen the wisdom of the apostolic usage, already mentioned, of reserving the formal investiture of office to persons specially qualified for that duty. And who so likely to be qualified as those already in office ? Christ bestows the gift, but it belongs to the Church, represented by her officers, to ‘call and send ministers into the Lord’s vineyard’ (Art. xxiii.) : to examine into the validity of a spiritual call, to authenticate it, and by prayer and the imposition of hands to confer the external commission. ‘It is not lawful for any man to take upon himself the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same’ (*Ibid.*) ; and by this appointed channel the natural ministry passes into the formal, and the persons gifted into an order. What is divine in the ministry is the gift ; what is human in it is the commission, conveyed by fallible men, and therefore liable to the imperfection which cleaves to the Church in all its visible manifestations. And hence the formal ministry is never quite co-extensive with the natural, any more than the true Church is co-extensive with the visible Church. Mistakes may and do occur : not always does the gift find its way into formal exercise, nor is the external commission a certain guarantee of the possession of the inward qualification. The order and rule, as enunciated by our Church ;

* Had the Church of England always borne in mind this injunction, her history might have been a different, and in some respects, a more agreeable one.

‘Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this office and ministration?’ (Ord. Serv.); and yet, ‘It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching before he is lawfully sent to execute the same’ (Art. xxiii.); hold good to the end of time.

§ 82. *Polity of the Church.*

It has been shown that the visible organization of the Church, unlike that of the Mosaic institute, proceeded from within outwards, and as need required; deacons being first appointed, then presbyters; while the apostolate, the only office which can be traced directly to Christ, passed away as soon as the volume of the canonical writings was completed and took its place. But it has not been explained why the particular form of polity (deacons and presbyters) should have been adopted by the Apostles. Why, for example, should they not have chosen—with, perhaps, modifications rendering it suitable to the Gospel Dispensation—the organization with which they were so familiar, viz., that of the temple, with its graduated hierarchy of high-priest, priests, and Levites? It is asserted, indeed, that this was the pattern which they followed; but with no warrant as far as the Scripture evidence is concerned.

The reply sometimes is, that the various offices mentioned in Scripture were formally included in that of apostle, and were by the Apostles shed off successively as they became necessary or expedient. That some of the *functions* discharged at first by the Apostles were delegated to others—such as attending to the poor, the local ministry of the Word, or the management of local ecclesiastical affairs—admits of no doubt; this was the very reason of their appointing deacons and presbyters. But this is not enough to establish the theory. It must be shown that such subordinate offices were ever formally conferred on the Apostles—that is, that they were by Christ, at some time or other, formally created, first deacons, and then presbyters. For, however a person may devolve certain *functions* on others, he cannot transmit an office unless he has been first invested with it himself. But there is no trace in Scripture of any such formal institution of these orders in the persons of the Apostles. The twelve were chosen to be simply Apostles, the apostolate including all the *functions* which were afterwards distributed among the various orders of the ministry, and a great deal besides; but they never were formally deacons, presbyters, or bishops. The notion may be dismissed as a fanciful one, resting on no sufficient evidence. Nor is there any need to

resort to it; for, side by side with the legal hierarchy, there had grown up, and in the time of Christ come to maturity, an institution not directly of Divine origin, but providentially intended to become the cradle of the visible polity of the Christian Church—viz., the synagogue. To the synagogue, properly so called, a higher antiquity cannot be assigned than some period subsequent to the Babylonish Captivity; and this event sufficiently accounts for its rise. The exiles ‘by the waters of Babylon,’ deprived of the temple services, endeavoured to supply the want by such religious exercises as remained within their reach. They came together as opportunity offered, to hear at the mouth of a prophet words of instruction and consolation (Ezek. xiv. 1). Restored to their native land, they continued these weekly assemblies, the homiletic services of which would be the more valued when the gift of prophecy was withdrawn. In the Book of Nehemiah we have an account of a religious service closely resembling what afterwards became the stated worship of the synagogue: Ezra ascended a pulpit of wood; read portions of Scripture, which, since the Hebrew tongue was no longer understood by the people, were interpreted by persons appointed for that purpose; and the whole concluded with prayer and thanksgiving. The service on this occasion took place in the open air; the first erection of buildings for the purpose is probably to be ascribed to the extra-Palestine Jews, whose example was speedily followed by their brethren in Judæa; and synagogues so multiplied that in our Lord’s time* there are said to have been hundreds in Jerusalem alone. The dispersion of the Jews after the Captivity produced a corresponding diffusion of the new mode of worship. The Jews of the dispersion maintained their connection with the temple by attendance at the principal feasts, while in the particular places in which they resided they were fain to content themselves with the simpler devotions of the synagogue. And thus in every considerable city of the Roman Empire synagogues, in the time of Christ, existed.

From the foregoing remarks the nature of the synagogical worship may be gathered. With the temple, or the Levitical worship, it had no immediate connection. The services were not sacrificial or symbolical, but homiletic; a priest, as such, had no place in the synagogue. As to teaching, great latitude prevailed. While this office properly belonged to the rulers of the synagogue, and could not be exercised without their permission, it was commonly delegated to any qualified member of the assembly who might intimate his wish to discharge it. Thus it excited no surprise when our Lord, who was of the tribe of Judah, stood up

* Vitringa, *De Syn. Vet.*, i., p. 2, c. 12.

in the synagogue at Nazareth 'for to read' (Luke iv. 16); and when St. Paul and Barnabas entered the synagogue in Pisidia, the rulers sent them a permissive message, 'if they had any word of exhortation to say on' (Acts xiii. 14). Such is a brief sketch of the institution which had, in the lapse of ages, gradually established itself wherever there were Jews—that is, everywhere; and perhaps there is no circumstance in the history of the chosen people more strongly indicative of a superintending Providence, more clearly intended to prepare the way for the Gospel. Christianity was to embrace all nations within its pale: but if the Jews had not, after their dispersion, adopted this form of worship, there would not have existed any religious centres to which the new faith could have appealed, as the Apostles in the exercise of their mission traversed the world. But in the synagogue exactly what was wanting was supplied. These places of worship could be multiplied indefinitely without affecting the unity of the temple, or the connection of the worshippers therewith; by them the Jewish mind became habituated to the offerings of prayer and praise instead of the legal sacrifices, and to a ministry of the Word instead of a ministry of types. Thus on their arrival at any new scene of labour the Christian missionaries, themselves Jews, had but to repair to the local synagogue to find, as far as regards external preparation, the way smoothed for the successful promulgation of the Gospel.

With these two, and only these two, systems of worship, that of the temple and that of the synagogue, the Apostles were conversant; which were they likely to engraft on the Christian Church? Let it be remembered that, as long as the temple stood, no Jew, instructed in the principles of his religion, could ever have thought of setting up a counterpart of the temple in heathen lands; still less in close proximity to the sacred structure. It was a fixed maxim with this people that the Levitical ritual was to be confined to one spot, viz., Jerusalem: there alone, according to the law, God was to be approached with sacrifice. When Onias, driven from Judæa, and disappointed in his hope of succeeding to the high-priesthood, persuaded Ptolemy (B.C. 145-80) to permit the erection of a temple at Leontopolis, in Egypt, his greatest difficulty, as Prideaux observes, was to reconcile the Jews to this project, since they believed it sin to sacrifice to God anywhere but upon the altar at Jerusalem.* Nothing but a special revelation from heaven that the temple services were no longer to be confined to Jerusalem, or some providential catastrophe rendering these services impossible, could have over-

* Prideaux, *Connect.*, p. ii., 64. Josephus calls this attempt of Onias ἀμαρτίαν καὶ τοῦ νόμου παράβασιν. *Antiq. Jud.*, xiii., c. 3.

come these objections. Such a catastrophe did, indeed, occur, viz., the destruction of the temple A.D. 70, by which Christianity was released to pursue its independent career; but at this time the elements of Christian worship were firmly established throughout the world. And, far from there being any command of Christ in this direction, He himself, in the few prospective hints which He gave, contemplated the Christian societies as assuming the synagogical form; as when He promised His presence to two or three gathered in His name, and still more distinctly when He committed authority to such societies to bind and loose, and the power of excommunication—functions which belonged not to the temple but to the synagogue. There is, indeed, no fact more significant, or more important to notice, than the light in which the first Jewish converts regarded themselves, and were regarded by their unbelieving brethren. They did not admit, nor was the accusation ever brought against them (except in St. Paul's instance), that they were separatists from the divinely appointed ritual of Moses. 'This way,' 'this sect,' was the usual title bestowed upon them. How could they entertain such a supposition when the temple and its ritual, which they believed to be of Divine origin, existed before their eyes, and no intimation was given of the immediate fulfilment of their Master's prophecy (Matt. xxiv. 2)? At any rate, it is clear what their attitude was. They frequented the temple at the appointed hours of prayer (Acts iii. 1); and it was the testimony of St. James, when advising his brother Apostle to make it clear that he was no subverter of the 'customs' of Moses by himself fulfilling a vow, that the believing Jews at Jerusalem were 'all zealous of the law' (Acts xxi. 20); and he mentions the fact without any mark of disapprobation. And the Apostle of the Gentiles, who so zealously vindicated the freedom of the Gentiles from the yoke of the law, thought it expedient for himself as a Jew to follow this advice. So far was the infant church of Jerusalem from assuming a hostile or even indifferent attitude towards the Jewish ordinances. It was regarded as a new sect among the many which existed side by side in the bosom of Judaism, the peculiarity of which was that its members believed Jesus of Nazareth to be the promised Messiah.* But to have established in the Christian Church a transcript of the temple and its sacrificial ritual, would have placed the new sect in direct opposition to the existing economy, and seriously impeded the progress of the Gospel. St. Paul could with truth challenge his accusers to gainsay his statement, that 'neither against the law

* This is exactly Gamaliel's view of them in Acts v. 34-39.

of the Jews, nor against the temple' had he 'offended anything at all' (Acts xxv. 8).

Such is the antecedent probability in favour of the derivation of the polity of the Church from the synagogue; and the facts convert it into certainty. The 'young men' who carried Ananias to his burial (Acts v. 6) do not seem to have occupied an official position; it was natural that the younger members of the society should undertake this office; but it is otherwise with 'the seven' formally chosen by the Church and set apart by the Apostles with the imposition of hands (Acts vi.). These are justly considered as the prototypes of what afterwards became the diaconate. Vitringa, indeed, labours to prove that this was not so; that their office was an extraordinary one, and in many respects did not correspond to that of the deacons who appear in St. Paul's epistles.* There is no doubt that such men as Stephen and Philip play a more important part in the history of the early Church than that which we commonly associate with the name of deacon, but this was because they were filled 'with the Holy Ghost and with wisdom.' Such personal qualities would not be transmissible, but the duties to which they were appointed, such as distributing the alms of the Church, must have been permanent, and could be discharged by any trustworthy men. Once the office was established it gradually drew to itself other duties, such as those mentioned in 1 Tim. iii.; the deacons of St. Paul probably took an active part in the office of instruction, public and private. In the lapse of time the diaconate lost much of its original dignity, especially in the extra-Palestine Churches. The deacons attended to the poor and sick; but their main duty was to assist the bishop in the details of public worship; to see 'that all things were done decently and in order'; to look after the vestments; to select the portions of Scripture to be read; to assist at the distribution of the Eucharistic elements; and to convey them to those who through infirmity were unable to be present at the celebration. Now, the similarity between such an office and that of the Chazanim, or inferior ministers of the synagogue, as described by the Rabbinical writers, is obvious; and no doubt can be entertained that, with the necessary modifications, the latter, under the form of the diaconate, reappeared in the Christian, especially the Gentile-Christian, Churches.† It has, indeed, been objected that the analogy fails, because each synagogue, as a rule, had only one Chazan;‡ but this is by no means certain. The number seems

* De Syn. Vet., L. iii., p. 2, c. v.

† Although the first deacons are never afterwards so called in the book of Acts, but always 'the seven,' the name is implied in *διακονία τῇ καθημερινῇ*, and *διακονεῖν τραπεζαῖς*, Acts vi. 1, 2.

‡ Lightfoot, Phil.

to have varied according to the size and importance of the synagogue ; and Vitrिंगा quotes a passage which speaks at least of two, and his inference is justified that if there were two there might have been more.* But whatever uncertainty may rest on the derivation of the Christian diaconate, none such can attach to the next order of ministers, the Presbyters, first mentioned in Acts xi. 30. From what other source but the synagogue could the Apostles, all Jews, have borrowed this class of ministers? There were no Presbyters, or elders, officially connected with the temple. But in the synagogue they were the ruling body, entrusted with the regulation of public worship, the care of the poor, and the administration of discipline. In the New Testament they sometimes bear the title of ‘rulers,’ or ‘*Ἀρχισυνάγωγοι*,’ but their proper Jewish name was *זְבִינִים*, or elders. In the smaller synagogues one such elder presided ; in the larger there were several who formed a college (*πρεσβυτήριον*, 1 Tim. iv. 14) ; whence the varying statements of Scripture, which sometimes speaks of the ‘ruler’ (Luke xiii. 14), more commonly of ‘the rulers’ of the synagogue (Acts xiii. 15). The duties of Christian Presbyters, as described by St. Paul in 1 Tim. v. 17, correspond with those of the Jewish elders, only that labouring ‘in the word and doctrine’ is more particularly ascribed to and commended in the Christian office.† We may suppose, in short, that what took place on a certain occasion is a fair example of the formation of a Christian society. When St. Paul arrived at Corinth he repaired, as usual, to the synagogue, and claiming his right to speak, he endeavoured to convince his hearers that Jesus is the Christ. When he found that the majority refused to be convinced, he separated the believing Jews from their unbelieving brethren, and, with the Gentiles who believed, formed them into a Christian synagogue, retaining as far as possible the features of the elder institution. It was the celebration of the Lord’s Supper that formed the essential point of distinction between the two. This Christian synagogue was the nucleus of the visible Corinthian Church, but only the nucleus. As time went on, and the Church grew in numbers, other regulations became necessary ; Christianity, after A.D. 70, began to

* *Synagogæ passim unum habuerunt ministrum* (זָבִין), ut ex iis quæ supra disputavimus, abunde constat : majores tamen habere potuerunt et habuerunt etiam *plures*, ut ex testimonio supra ex Colbo producto liquet, ‘locus ubi duos facere solent Chazanitas.’ Si duos, ergo et plures habere potuerunt *Synagogæ* diaconas, prout circumstantiæ suadebant. L. iii., p. 2, c. 23.

† The notion that lay-elders, such as are found in the Calvinistic Churches, are mentioned in the New Testament, is conclusively refuted by Vitrिंगा, L. 2, c. ii. The Apostolic Presbyters were both teachers and rulers ; though one or the other function predominated according to circumstances.

crystallize itself independently, as regards its polity; the immediate occasion being the destruction of the Jewish temple. But not until a much later age did the Church quite lose sight of its synagogical parentage, as regards polity and ritual.

With the institution of deacons and presbyters the inspired writings fail us, except in the way of indirect precedent. The synagogue had no office corresponding to that of Diocesan Bishop, nor does the New Testament furnish us with any instance of the office. The 'bishops' of St. Paul's epistles are, as is now universally acknowledged, the same persons who are elsewhere called presbyters.* Timothy and Titus, usually cited as bishops in our sense of the word, were never permanently fixed in one place; at least, not during St. Paul's lifetime. They were Apostolic delegates, left for a time to 'set in order the things that were wanting' in certain churches (Tit. i. 5); to do what the Apostle himself would have done, had he not been detained elsewhere; but when their work was finished they rejoined their master, to be employed, no doubt, in the same way in other places.† The utmost that can be inferred from these instances is that it is not at variance with the mind of St. Paul that the chief management of a church, whether for a longer or a shorter time, should be vested in an individual; and so far as this favours the episcopal regimen, let it prevail. But no order of diocesan bishops appears in the New Testament.‡ The evidence is in favour of the supposition that Episcopacy sprang from the Church itself, and by a natural process, and that it was sanctioned by St. John, the last survivor of the Apostles. The presbytery, when it assembled for consultation, would naturally elect a president to maintain order: at first temporarily, but in time with permanent authority; an office such as that which St. James appears to have exercised at Jerusalem. Thus it is probable that at an early period an informal episcopate had sprung up in each church. As the Apostles were one by one removed, and as local churches came to consist, not of one, but of several congregations, the office

* Πρεσβύτερος was the Jewish title; that of ἐπίσκοπος is of Gentile origin. The Athenians used to send public officers called ἐπισκόποι to inspect subject states.

† 'Do thy diligence to come shortly unto me,' 2 Tim. iv. 9. 'When I shall send Artemas unto thee, or Tychieus, be diligent to come unto me to Nicopolis,' Tit. iii. 12. The tradition that Timothy and Titus became, after St. Paul's death, diocesan bishops of Ephesus and Crete, may be well founded; but it cannot be proved from the New Testament.

‡ It is a curious and characteristic circumstance, that of the three orders which have, for the most part, prevailed in the Church, that particular one which, as regards Scriptural evidence, has the least to say for itself, should, in certain quarters, be described as emphatically 'the divine element' of Church polity.

would assume increased importance and become invested with greater powers. Christianity, when not enfeebled by sectarian influences, tends to visible forms of unity, of continually expanding circumference. We need not refuse assent, with the necessary qualifications, to Möhler's remark, 'that the craving of the faithful in Christ for union cannot rest satisfied until it sees itself expressed in some type or representation. The Bishop is the visible expression of this longing—the personification of the mutual love of the Christians of a certain locality—the manifestation and the living centre of that Christian spirit which ever strives after unity.*' That is to say, Episcopacy, like the inferior orders, developed itself from within outwards, and we have no need of a Divine prescription to account for it. With the departure of the living Apostolic authority, acknowledged by the whole Church, factions, and heresies, as Jerome remarks, began to prevail, and, in his view, the Episcopate was instituted as a remedy against these evils. 'When every man began to think those whom he had baptized to be his own, and not Christ's, it was decreed throughout the world that one chosen out of the presbyters should be set above the rest, to whom the care of the whole Church should appertain, that thus the seeds of division might be rooted out.†' The Cyprianic idea of the Episcopate followed in due time. Each bishop came to be regarded not only as a centre of unity to his own Church, but as a means of communication with all other Christian Churches; the office assumed an ecumenical as well as a diocesan character. The universal episcopate formed a kind of corporation, of which each particular bishop was in his diocese the representative. 'As the one Church,' says Cyprian, 'has been divided by Christ into many members throughout the world, so the one episcopate is everywhere diffused by the multiplicity of many bishops.‡' Thus the universal episcopate was supposed to have taken the place of the Apostolic College, and each bishop to enjoy a portion of the Apostolic grace and authority. It is unnecessary to pursue the subject further. Bishops grew into metropolitans, metropolitans into patriarchs; and by the same law of natural expansion. It is easy to comment on the errors, doctrinal and practical, which disfigured the Christianity of those ages. None the less, it presents a remarkable phenomenon. A vast association, extending over the greater part of the Roman Empire, maintained its ground not only without the aid, but under the disfavour of

* *Einheit in der Kirche*, p. 187.

† Quoted by Bilson, *Perp. Gov.*, p. 268.

‡ *Epist.* 52, ad Anton. *Comp.* 'Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.' *De Unit. Eccles.*

the state; exhibiting everywhere the same general features, and pervaded throughout its parts by a common sympathy and a compactness of adhesion which to the heathen statesman or philosopher must have appeared inexplicable. It is easy, with the infidel historian, to ascribe the characteristic features of the visible Church of those ages to priestly ambition or other evil tendencies. The Christian of larger views and greater candour will see in them a proof of the power of his religion, even when declined from the Apostolic standard, to knit men together in a bond of union far exceeding in depth and comprehensiveness any the world had yet seen.

§ 83. *Powers of the Clergy (the Keys).*

According to the Council of Trent, the government of the Church is a hierarchy, or the relation of the clerical order to the Christian people is that of secular rulers to subjects;* and, moreover, the clergy are a priesthood in the strict sense of the word—mediators between God and man. But the relation of magistrate to subject belongs to the state, not to the Church; and the New Testament knows no other proper priesthood but that of Christ Himself.

On the Romish theory, the laity are in a state of tutelage, under a paternal, but despotic government, to which has been committed ample means of subduing the refractory impulses of human nature, and enforcing implicit obedience; viz., the power of the keys; by which is understood, not the remitting and retaining of sins by the ministry of the Word, but the priestly prerogative of absolution, whereby the gate of heaven is opened or shut to the penitent. The priest has but to ‘retain’ sin by refusing absolution, and no pardon can be hoped for; while excommunication is a complete severance from Christ. Not without reason is the *potestas jurisdictionis*, or power of government, assigned by Romish writers to the sacrament of penance; for in truth this one ‘nerve of discipline,’ as the Council calls it, is sufficient, in all ordinary cases, to crush any symptoms of an insubordinate spirit.

It was not without expressions of dissent that the Tridentine Canons on this subject were promulgated. That Christian instinct, which has never been wholly extinguished in the Romish Church, even in its worst times, asserted itself against the despotic power claimed for the Pope over the bishops, for the bishops over the other clergy, and for the whole spirituality over

* Dominus noster Jesu Christus a terris ascensus ad cœlos sacerdotes sui ipsius vicarios reliquit, tanquam præsides et iudices. Sess. xiv., c. 5.

the laity. The very name, it was remarked at the Council, carried with it an unchristian sound. The New Testament describes the clergy as the ministers, or servants, of the Christian people, and not as their rulers in a secular sense.* But these protests were unavailing. The Gallican Church, indeed, as a whole, made a successful stand against the concentration of ecclesiastical power in the Papacy; but to admit the laity to an effective share in the government of the Church would have been as strange a notion to Bossuet as to Bellarmine. The latter sums up the Romish doctrine thus: 'It has always been believed in the Catholic Church that the bishops in their dioceses and the Roman Pontiff in the whole Church, are real ecclesiastical princes; competent by their own authority, and without the consent of the people or advice of the presbyters, to enact laws binding on the conscience; to judge in matters ecclesiastical, like other judges; and, if need be, to inflict punishment.† The only popular element in the system is that anyone may become a member of the episcopate, or governing body.‡

The restoration—in theory, at least—of the laity to their proper place in the Church was an immediate result of the Reformation. The reassertion of the universal priesthood of Christians was inconsistent with any difference *in kind* between clergy and laity, and the doctrine of justification by faith robbed the confessional of its terrors. The lay members of the body of Christ emerged from the spiritual imbecility which they had been taught to consider as their natural state, and became free, not from the yoke of Christ, but from that of the priest. In some instances, as was natural, the recovered liberty of the Church ran into licence. In others, the rights of the laity, though acknowledged in treatises and confessions, were never fully restored, the secular government being made the depository of those powers which had formerly been wielded by the Pope or his delegates. The proper adjustment of lay and clerical influence in the Church is a problem which yet remains to be solved by most of the Reformed Churches of Europe.

The distinction between clergy and laity, if considered one *of kind*, is at variance with Scripture. St. Peter speaks of the whole Church, and not any particular part of it, as the Lord's *κληρος*, or portion (1 Pet. v. 3); nor, in the view of any of the

* L'on ajoutait même que si l'on eût voulu se conformer au style et à la conduite de Jésus-Christ, de ses Apôtres, ou de l'ancienne église, on n'eût pas dû se servir du terme de Hiérarchie, mais de ceux de Hiérodiaconie, ou de Hiérodulie, qui indiquent un ministère et non un empire. Sarpi, T. iii., p. 69 (Courayer).

† De Rom. Pont., L. iv., c. 15.

‡ Bellarm., *Ibid.*

sacred writers, is the ministry more essential to the Church than the Church to the ministry. A distinction may, indeed, be founded on a diversity of spiritual gifts, but this is not one of kind. On the other hand, Scripture does assign an independent position to the ministers of Christ; they are not mere organs of the congregation, but presidents and leaders (1 Thess. v. 12; Heb. xiii. 17). Titus is directed to 'rebuke sharply' certain members of the Church (chap. i. 13), and the warning which St. Peter addresses to presbyters not to 'lord it over the flock' (1 Pet. v. 3) presupposes powers which they might be tempted to abuse. In short, the sovereignty of the Church resides neither in the people apart from their pastors nor in the pastors apart from the people, but in the whole body. There are three rules commended to us by Apostolic precedent, which, wherever they prevail, operate as a check to hierarchical despotism.

The first is the right of the laity to a voice in the councils of the Church. In the Council held at Jerusalem to consider the question of the obligation of the ceremonial law on Gentile converts, 'the whole Church' was present, and the decree ran in the name of 'the apostles, and elders, and brethren' (Acts xv. 22, 23). Whether the clergy and laity form one mixed assembly, or distinct ones, is not of primary importance; though the latter seems the better arrangement. What is of moment is an effective vote, or veto, to be possessed by the lay assessors, or chamber; otherwise their presence is of little use.* It would be interesting, did space permit, to trace the steps by which the Apostolic model was gradually abandoned, until not only the laity, but the presbyters and deacons, were excluded from any real share in the government of the Church. The synodal system, in itself beneficial, was the proximate cause of the change. The diocesan synods long retained that popular element which is the proper counterpoise to sacerdotal influence. Cyprian himself, the chief assertor of episcopal authority, declares it to have been his rule, from the time that he became bishop, to do nothing without the advice of his presbyters and the consent of the people.† 'Common decency,' he writes to his clergy, 'as well as our rule of discipline and manner of (church) life, requires that we, the bishops, with the clergy, and in the presence of the

* The diocesan synod movement in our church, laudable in itself, will never become a reality without some such powers; neither will the lay-assembly recently established as a supplement to Convocation. They are chiefly valuable as movements in the right direction. A diocesan synod (so-called), without a power of veto, might be made an instrument by an arbitrary-minded Bishop of introducing changes or regulations which he would hesitate to enjoin on his own undivided responsibility.

† Epist. v., Ad Presb. et Diac.

steadfast laity, should settle all matters by piously consulting together.* But when diocesan synods expanded into provincial it became the practice for the bishops only, as representatives of their respective churches, to be summoned; the presbyters, if any, appearing merely as attendants on their bishops; while the laity were excluded, or were present merely as spectators. At length, in the greater councils, whether provincial or general, the whole administrative power passed into the hands of the bishops; they alone possessed the right of voting, and if a few presbyters or laymen attended it was only to discharge subordinate functions.† It is of little avail to urge that the bishop, being one with his people and the people with him, the laity were, in fact, represented at synods in and through their bishop:‡ considerations of this mystical character are not found in practice to be of much value. A clerical corporation, like every other, inevitably tends to its own aggrandizement, and this without being conscious of the motives which influence it. It would be unjust to ascribe to the bishops of the third and fourth centuries a deliberate design to exalt their own order at the expense of the others; such, nevertheless, was the result. The circumstances of the times—especially the difficulty of keeping within bounds that singular class of persons, the ‘confessors’—might be pleaded in excuse of Cyprian’s assumptions; but these became the ordinary style of his successors; every contest between the presbyters or the laity and the bishop terminated in favour of the latter; and thus, by continual accretions, the hierarchical system attained the proportions under which it presents itself in the middle ages.

No Church can be in a healthy condition which excludes from the administration of its affairs any constituent part of the body ecclesiastic. Those who are thus excluded lapse into a state of indifference to the spiritual welfare of the community, as a limb never used perishes of atrophy; or they secede to other religious bodies in which church-life is more active and diffused. The monarchical form into which the government of the English Church seems to have settled cannot be deemed favourable to the vitality or progress of that Church. The history of the disestablished Irish Church may read us some lessons, particularly

* Epist. xiv., Ad Cler.

† *Catholicorum sententia est, solos prælatos eosque omnes, id est, episcopos, in conciliis generalibus et provincialibus habere jus suffragii decisivi ordinariæ: ex presbyteris autem et aliis clericis minoribus tantum vocari aliquos viros doctos qui juvent in disputando vel aliis ministeriis: denique ex privatis laicis tantum vocari aliquos qui videantur utiles vel necessarii ad aliquod ministerium concilii.* Bellarm., *De Conc.*, i., c. 15.

‡ Möhler, *Einheit in der Kirche*, p. 211.

as showing what can be accomplished by the cordial co-operation of the different orders of clergy and of the clergy and laity, each with recognized powers and duties, in the work of organization.

The second rule is that the laity should have a voice in the appointment of pastors; not, as we have seen, in the transmission of the commission, but in their local settlement. Such we gather to have been the mind of the Apostles. If on any occasion they might have claimed to act independently, the appointment of a successor to Judas Iscariot was such; yet they did not so act. The case was brought by St. Peter before the whole company of believers, and at his request they selected two individuals as best fitted for the vacant office; all joined in prayers for Divine direction; all 'gave forth their lots' (Acts i. 24-26). So it was in the appointment of deacons. The Apostles directed 'the multitude of the disciples' to choose from themselves whom they judged most competent. The persons thus selected were presented to the Apostles to be formally inducted into office (Acts vi. 5, 6). The mode of selecting presbyters is not so distinctly recorded; but the natural meaning of the word used (*χειροτονήσαντες*, Acts xiv. 23) is that of appointing by suffrage, and we gather from it that Paul and Barnabas followed the precedent of the diaconate. This is confirmed by the testimony of Clement of Rome. 'Those,' he writes, 'whom either the Apostles or other distinguished men' (their delegates) 'placed in the ministry, with the consent of the whole church (*συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης*), ought not to be deposed from their office.* For several centuries after the Christian era the Apostolic rule was observed. 'The faithful laity,' says Cyprian, 'ought the rather to avoid communion with a delinquent bishop and sacrilegious priests, because it possesses the power both of choosing worthy priests and of rejecting the unworthy.†

The third and perhaps the most important of the rights of the laity is concerned with the exercise of discipline; which by Christ Himself is vested in the whole Church, and not in the clerical body alone. 'Tell it unto the church' is His command (Matt. xviii. 17); not to the rulers as a distinct class, but to the whole society, with which it rests, in the last resort, to inflict the penalty of excommunication. That the presiding bishop, or elders, should be the persons to pronounce the sentence may be admitted, but that the decision should rest with the community is clearly the sense of Scripture. When St. Paul, by virtue of his Apostolic authority, informs the Corinthians that, owing to their remissness, he had resolved to deliver a certain offender 'to Satan for

* Epist. i., p. 44.

† Epist. lxxviii. See also Apost. Const., viii., c. 4.

the destruction of the flesh,' he takes care to associate, as far as he could, the Church with himself, and to make it a joint act. Absent in body he would be present in spirit when the Church was 'gathered together' to carry out the sentence. And he afterwards speaks of it as 'a punishment inflicted of many' (1 Cor. v. 4, 2 Cor. ii. 6). Now of all ecclesiastical acts the expulsion of a member is the most sovereign; indeed, it is the only sovereign act which a Church, as such, can perform, and corresponds to capital punishment by the State. Wherever the clergy possess an uncontrolled power of inflicting spiritual censures, it is next to impossible but that a spiritual despotism, of a peculiarly oppressive kind, will be the result. The two dogmas, that the sovereignty of the church resides in the clergy, and that the latter are proper priests, were sufficient to enslave the mind of Europe for a thousand years. Nor were they to become again dominant, would they be found to have lost aught of their potency. These spiritual weapons may be despised by the philosopher, but with the multitude, especially where the light of Scripture is not diffused, the case is different.

If the relation of pastors to people is not that of governors to subjects, still less is it that of a mediating priesthood, such as existed in the preparatory dispensation. What has been incidentally observed in the notices of the synagogue, and its offspring the earliest Christian societies, sufficiently proves that the sacrificial element, except in an improper and figurative sense, formed no part of the first Christian worship. And the direct testimony of Scripture confirms this conclusion. In no single instance does it assign to Christian ministers the proper title of a sacrificing priest (*ἱερεύς*, sacerdos). They are Presbyters (whence the word priest in our formularies), ministers, overseers, but never mediators between God and man. There are extant three epistles of St. Paul, addressed to Christian ministers, and directly on their duties; but among these duties we search in vain for any of a sacerdotal character. Timothy is directed to 'preach the word,' to 'give attendance to reading, exhortation and doctrine,' to exercise discipline, to ordain elders; but no instructions are given him touching the matter or ritual of the Christian sacrifice. Omissions of this kind in pastoral epistles are, on the supposition of the Christian ministry's being a proper priesthood, unaccountable. For wherever there exists a visible sacrifice and priesthood, they occupy a position of decided superiority to every other act of worship. So it was under the law of Moses, and so it is in the Church of Rome; in which latter the sacrifice of the Mass is the central feature of worship, around which everything else revolves. If St. Paul had regarded Timothy and Titus as priests,

it is natural to suppose that directions concerning their sacerdotal duties would have filled as large a space in his epistles as they do in the book of Leviticus.

But it may be urged that the question does not turn so much upon names as upon facts ; and, though it may be granted that neither the Apostles nor the two orders of the ministry traceable to them bear the name of priests, yet that sacerdotal functions are ascribed to them in Scripture. But the assumed fact is not a fact. Neither the Apostles, nor the presbyters, to say nothing of deacons, ever appear in Scripture as discharging such functions. When and where were the Apostles appointed priests ? The Council of Trent replies, when, in the institution of the Lord's Supper, Jesus spake the words, 'Do this in remembrance of Me.*' It is not easy to discover so momentous a doctrine in this simple direction. The words *Hoc facite*, which as spoken by Christ we hold to mean, Celebrate this ordinance, must, according to the Council, be translated, Perform the sacrifice of the Mass.† Which interpretation is the correct one let the terms of institution decide : 'When He had given thanks He brake it and said, *Take, eat* ; after the same manner also He took the cup, saying, *As often as ye drink it* ; this do ye in remembrance of Me' (1 Cor. xi. 24, 25). The eleven Apostles, Judas being separated from them, represented on this occasion the mystical body of Christ in every age, not a sacerdotal order. The remitting and retaining of sins, even if it had been a special Apostolic privilege, is sufficiently explained by such instances as those of Ananias and Sapphira, Simon Magus, and Elymas the sorcerer, in which a supernatural gift of spiritual discernment was exhibited ; but in fact, as has been observed, the commission was given, not to the Apostles alone, but to the whole company of assembled believers ; it is the Church, as the witness for Christ from age to age, that remits or retains sins, not a priestly caste by the power of absolution. It is remarkable that the baptismal commission should not have been insisted on in this connection, for this does seem to have been addressed to the Apostles only ; but the fact is, it would not have been convenient to press the passage, for, as is well known, the Church of Rome not only admits the validity of lay baptism, but in cases of supreme necessity allows a midwife to baptize. The following words,

* Si quis dixerit illis verbis, *Hoc facite* in meam commemorationem, Christum non instituisse Apostolos sacerdotes ; aut non ordinasse ut ipsi, alique sacerdotes offerrent corpus et sanguinem suum ; anathema sit. Sess. xii., Can. 2.

† 'The plea from *Hoc facite*, when first set up, was abundantly answered by a learned Romanist, I mean the excellent Pickerell, who wrote about 1562. Protestants also have often confuted it ; and the Papists themselves, several of them, have long ago given it up.' Waterland, *Christian Sac. App.*, c. 3.

'Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world' (Matt. xxviii. 20), make it plain that the charge was given to the Apostles as representatives of the Christian ministry, not as inspired founders of the Church, for as such they were not to remain to the end of the world. The subsequent history also is silent on the point. They who on the Day of Pentecost received Peter's message were baptized; by whom we are not informed (Acts ii. 41). Philip, though but a deacon, baptized the Eunuch. Peter, beholding the sealing of the Spirit vouchsafed to Cornelius and his friends, 'commanded them to be baptized' (Acts x. 48); whether by himself or others is not specified. Paul declares that Christ sent him not to baptize but to preach the Gospel, and congratulates himself that he had only baptized a few of the Corinthian Church (1 Cor. i. 14-17); which, to say the least, negatives the supposition that he considered it a special part of his office to administer this sacrament. With respect to the Eucharist, the evidence is still more scanty. The first believers 'broke bread from house to house,' celebrating, probably, the Lord's Supper immediately after these love-feasts; they came together on the first day of the week to break bread (Acts ii. 46; xx. 7); but whether any, or what, ritual was observed on the occasion; what the form of consecration was, if any; by whom the elements were distributed—on these, and such-like points, which on the sacerdotal theory we should expect to find minutely described, the record is silent. In one passage (1 Cor. xi. 23-26) St. Paul treats at some length on the Eucharist; but on the question what is necessary to the validity of the ordinance he delivers no rule. 'The cup of blessing which we bless, the bread which we break'; from whose lips the blessing proceeded we are not told. It will not be contended that the Apostles themselves could be present at all celebrations, and no mention is made of presbyters taking their place. To 'make the sacrament'* was, as far as appears, not the prerogative of a priestly caste, but of Him from whom all ordinances derive their virtue; the true consecration was the living faith of the partakers. St. Paul describes himself and his fellow Apostles as 'stewards of the mysteries of God'; that is, as is known to intelligent readers of Scripture, of doctrines hitherto hidden but now revealed, not of ordinances;† stewards and dispensers of divine truth, as indeed the requirement that they should be 'faithful' sufficiently proves. He does indeed speak of discharging a priestly office, but it was the preaching of the

* *Conficere sacramentum* — the usual expression employed by Romish writers.

† 'How that by revelation He made known unto me the mystery . . . that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, etc.' (Ephes. iii. 3-6).

Gospel (*ἱερουργοῦντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*), and the Gentile world was the sacrifice which he had to present to God (Rom. xv. 16). The Apostles had all their life been familiar with earthly priests and visible sacrifices; how came they in their promulgation and exposition of the Gospel to abstain so entirely from such associations? The whole scope of the Epistle to the Hebrews is that the Levitical institute, still in existence when the author wrote, having served its purpose, was 'ready to vanish away' (Heb. viii. 13); not because it was the Levitical institute, but because a human priesthood and corresponding sacrifices are incompatible with the eternal priesthood of Christ, and the sufficiency of His one sacrifice of Himself on the Cross; and therefore may not, under whatever guise, find a place under the Gospel. An analogy exists, on the point before us, between the relation of the synagogue to the temple, and that of local churches to the one true, or as Protestants call it, the invisible, Church. However synagogues might be multiplied, there was but one temple, one altar, one priesthood; and the synagogues, otherwise distinct societies, bore a common relation to the temple, and so were connected together. In like manner local churches, otherwise distinct, find their unity in the mystical Body of Christ, evermore offering spiritual sacrifices through its one High Priest: that is, the sacerdotal elements of Judaism, its temple services, have passed into Christianity, not literally, but figuratively, or rather in the spiritual antitype; while the synagogue, an institution which possessed nothing of a sacerdotal character, reappears literally and visibly under the form of local Christian Churches.

It must be observed that the question is not what the law of order may have dictated, or rendered necessary, but whether a divine law, affecting the validity of the sacraments, can be produced. The law of order gave rise to many changes of ritual which, so far as they are not unscriptural, rest on their own foundation: only this foundation is not *jure divino*, but *jure humano*. Transporting ourselves in imagination to the fifth century, the spectacle which we behold is very different from that which we find in Scripture. An organized episcopacy extends like a network over all Christendom, each bishop being at once the chief pastor in his own church, and the instrument of union between it and other churches; the primitive upper chamber has given place to gorgeous structures: if we enter which, there will meet our eye, in the outer vestibule, the penitents and catechumens; then, in the nave, the faithful to whom access to the Lord's Supper was permitted; and at the upper end, divided by the chancel rail from the rest of the congregation, the bishop with his presbyters and deacons. Carefully-worded creeds test the orthodoxy of candidates

for baptism ; formal liturgies lead the devotions of the people ; distinctions unknown to the Apostolic Church prevail, of inquirers from catechumens, of catechumens from the baptized, of the lapsed from the steadfast. The Eucharist, especially, is fenced round with restrictions, to guard it from profanation. In what light are we to regard these additions to the simple polity and worship of the first church ? As divine appointments ? or as corruptions, the offspring of superstition and priestcraft ? Strictly speaking, neither the one nor the other. If we cannot approve of all that we find in this age, if we cannot shut our eyes to the growth of superstitious doctrines and practices, a considerable part, nevertheless, of these external developments was the result of a natural and necessary effort of the Church to adapt herself to changing circumstances, and on this ground may be justified. A mixed multitude pressing into the sacred enclosure had to be handled otherwise than the primitive 120 upon whom the Holy Ghost fell ; external organization is the remedy which nature provides for a diminution of the animating spirit : when effervescence ceases, crystallization commences. And had the changes or additions been suffered to remain on this ground, they might, after the excisions necessary, have held their place. But the temptation presented itself, as it has always done, to discover, if possible, a Divine sanction for what was the result of a natural law ; and to insinuate into Scripture conclusions which it does not warrant. No distinction was made between what is commanded and what is merely recommended by precedent and example, between the sacraments ordained by Christ Himself and Apostolic appointments, between the latter and those of the Church of after-ages, between the essential parts of ordinances and additions of human origin. The earlier dispensation had priests and sacrifices, therefore the Gospel must have something not merely analogous but similar ; and Scripture must be put to the question to yield a testimony thereto. That a believing deacon, for example, should not, while an unbelieving presbyter should, have power to consecrate the elements ; is this of Divine or of human appointment ? Not of Divine, but of human ; and as long as this is acknowledged, as long as the restriction is considered a matter of order, the arrangement stands on its own sufficient grounds. The case is different when it is made a law of Christ Himself, or of the Apostles ; and when violence is done to Scripture to make it support the statement. ‘There is no reason to establish the right of men without succession from the Apostles to administer the Holy Eucharist, which will not justify the taking away the cup from the laity’*—did the writer of these

* Manning, *Unity*, etc., p. 326.

words find his theory in Scripture, or introduce into the sacred page what belongs to the age of Cyprian or later? The law which has presided over the rise and progress of spurious Catholicism is to claim a divine origin, and a legally binding force, for developments in polity or ritual which can be clearly traced to natural causes; and this with the result, if not the object, of transforming the Gospel into a new ceremonial law, and replacing Christians under a yoke of bondage from which Christ has set them free. By spurious Catholicism is meant that which, not content with being itself, with being what legitimate Catholicism is, an adaptation of Apostolic precedent to changing circumstances, lays claim to a direct enactment from heaven. Among these spurious assertions is that of the clergy's being a proper priesthood. The more reason is there to guard against its first advances. It is connected, for example, not remotely with the notion that the visible church is the representative of Christ on earth, or as Möhler expresses it, the perpetual incarnation of the Saviour.* For it is obvious that the whole Church cannot stand between itself and God, or be a representative of Christ to itself; and so the Church comes to mean the clergy, and the clergy a priesthood, whether we call them by that name or not. What is really meant by the Church's being the continued incarnation of Christ is that the Saviour, having completed the work of redemption, has withdrawn from the active administration of this dispensation in and by His Divine Vicar, the Holy Ghost; having previously delegated His powers, royal, priestly, and prophetic, to a certain order in the Church. But *vicarius est absentis, Christus est præsens*; present not as the incarnate Son, but as the Comforter whom He promised to send, and who, as regards the Godhead, is one with Him. He does indeed exercise sacerdotal functions elsewhere; and, by His perpetual intercession in heaven as our High Priest, has for ever superseded the necessity, and the existence, of human mediators between God and man.†

* Symbolik, § 36.

† At the Council of Trent a candid Portuguese theologian (George d'Ataïde) counselled the Fathers not to attempt to prove the doctrine of a human priesthood from Scripture but from tradition. His observations are worth transcribing: Il dit d'abord; qu'on ne pouvait pas douter que la messe ne fût un sacrifice, parceque les pères l'avoient enseigné ouvertement. Il rapporta la témoignage des pères Grecs et Latins, et parcourant ensuite tous les siècles jusqu'au nôtre, il soutint qu'il n'y avait aucun ecivain chrétien qui n'eût appelé l'eucharistie un sacrifice (and therefore requiring a priest to celebrate it). Mais il ajouta: que c'était affaiblir ce fondement que de lui en, joindre d'imaginaires; et qu'en voulant trouver dans l'Écriture ce qui n'y était pas, on donnait occasion de calomnier la vérité à ceux qui voyaient qu'on l'appuyait sur un sable aussi mouvant. De-là il passa à examiner l'un après l'autre les

§ 84. *Primacy of the Bishop of Rome.*

What has been remarked concerning the visible organization of the Church in its earlier stages, that it proceeded by a natural law, and was engrafted on institutions already in existence, holds good in all that followed. The destruction of the temple, about A.D. 70, relaxed the connection between Judaism and Christianity, and set the church free to pursue her own course. The first result, probably, was the episcopate, informal in its beginning, but afterwards consolidated into an order, and to all appearance either proposed or sanctioned by surviving apostles. From time to time it was natural for the bishops of a certain district to meet together for the purposes of mutual recognition and consultation ; on such occasions they were commonly accompanied by delegates of the presbyters and laity. This was the origin of synods. Nor did the centralizing process stop here. As the presbyters of each church formed a council presided over by the bishop, so the bishops developed from themselves centres of unity ; accidental circumstances, such as a church's having been founded by an Apostle, or its importance in a political point of view, determining where each centre should be. Thus it was that metropolitan sees, and provincial synods, came into being. The advantages were manifest, especially in the appointment of bishops to vacant sees. Popular election, even with the consent of the presbyters, had its dangers ; but these were mitigated by the rule that prevailed, that two or three, at least, of the neighbouring bishops, and always the metropolitan, should assist at the consecration, and that no appointment should be valid which had not received the approval of the other churches of the province. Still more extensive combinations succeeded, as indeed there was no reason why they should not. Provinces coalesced into patriarchates, considerations partly ecclesiastical, partly political, determining the patriarchal sees to Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria. Later on, Rome, the capital of the ancient world, is seen taking the lead in the councils of Christendom, not by any formal delegation of authority, or by Divine right ; for no such claims were either advanced or acknowledged for many centuries after Christ ; but because the dignity of the capital shed a reflected light upon its bishop, and made him the natural centre of the Western church. Nor was this advantage materially affected by the transfer of the seat of government to Byzantium, with its attendant patriarchate.

endroits de l'ancien et du nouveau Testament rapportés par les théologiens, et montra qu'il n'y en avait aucun dont on pût tirer une preuve claire du sacrifice. Sarpi, vol. ii., p. 384. The historian adds that this theologian's presence at the Council was thenceforward dispensed with.

New Rome never succeeded in supplanting the ancient mistress of the world, nor could its patriarch, though the attempt was often made, succeed in prevailing other churches to acknowledge his supremacy. The Roman bishops displayed the same capacity for government which had distinguished civil Rome, and while the Orientals spent their strength in theological disputation, Leo and his successors were successfully employed in extending the practical supremacy of their see. Appeals to Rome from all quarters were encouraged, refugees from other dioceses were kindly received, and no opportunity was lost of making the influence of the Roman Church felt throughout Christendom. And thus by slow accretions the Papal power became what it was in the middle ages.

Such is what may be called the natural history of this remarkable institution. And as long as it was regarded merely as the topmost stone of the edifice of unity, it cannot be described as anti-Christian in character. If it was not unreasonable for the bishops of a province to evolve out of their body a metropolitan centre, or the metropolitans a patriarchal, no more was it so, as long as the political conditions were favourable, for the whole Western Church to desire a visible symbol of unity. This is the position taken up by the philosophical school of modern Romanists. 'They,' says Möhler,* 'who demand before Cyprian's time incontrovertible proofs of the existence of the primacy demand what is unreasonable, the law of a true development not admitting of it; and *vice versa*, the trouble which some have given themselves to discover, before the same epoch, the full idea of a pope, or the notion that they have discovered it, must be considered vain, and their conclusions untenable. As throughout the inferior organization of the Church, so in this point, the want must be felt before the supply could be found.' 'It is evident that during the first three centuries, and even at the close of them, the primacy is not visible save in its first lineaments; it operates as yet but informally, and when the question is put, where and how did it practically manifest itself, we must confess that it never appears alone, but always in conjunction with other churches and bishops; though it is true that a peculiar character is already seen to attach to the Roman see.'† This view of the growth of the Papacy is not only historically true, but enables the author to dispense with the proofs from Scripture which his predecessors, *e.g.*, Bellarmine, are wont to allege, to the detriment rather than the advantage of their cause. Only a council which discovered that 'from the very beginning of the Church seven

* Einheit in der Kirche, A. 2, § 68.

† *Ibid.*, A. 2, § 71.

orders of ministry and their names existed,* could have authorized its catechism to declare that the Papacy was instituted when Christ said to Peter : 'Feed My sheep'; or, 'On this rock I will build My church,' that is (according to the older and better interpretation of the passage), on the living faith exhibited in the Apostle's confession : 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God' (Matt. xvi. 16) ; or, 'Unto Thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' which, if some personal prerogative may be thought intended, is explained by the fact that to Peter it was given to admit first the Jews and then the Gentiles into the Christian Church (Acts ii. x.) ; or, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven' (Matt. xvi. 19), an authority, whatever it may mean, which was afterwards conferred on all the Apostles (*Ibid.*, xviii. 18). On no occasion in the sacred history is any pre-eminence assigned to this Apostle. The Apostle James has better claims to such precedence. Uninspired history is equally silent. There is no proof that Peter was ever at Rome, or that he was Bishop of Rome, or that if he was bishop, he could transmit his personal prerogatives to his successors. The chronology of his history is against the supposition. From the 18th year of Tiberius, when Christ was crucified, to the 13th of Nero, when, according to Romish writers, Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome, there is a space of about thirty-six years. At the council held at Jerusalem (Acts xv.), about A.D. 51, Peter was present, and the next notice is that he was at Antioch (Gal. ii. 11), about A.D. 58, where tradition reports that he resided some years. Little time remains for his alleged Roman episcopate. The Book of Acts, which narrates at length several important events in Peter's life, passes over his episcopacy, and even his residence at Rome in silence. St. Paul, writing to Rome, and writing from Rome, makes no mention of him. The view then which Möhler takes is the only one that has a semblance of historical truth. And, no doubt, there is some truth in it. In the writings of Cyprian the idea of a visible centre for Western Christendom is common, and already the see of Rome is invested with an undefined superiority. 'This' (the evil of schism), he writes, 'arises from men's not recurring to the fountain head of truth, and the doctrine of our heavenly Master. There is no need of prolix argument ; the proof is short, and easy of comprehension. The Lord says to Peter : "Thou art Peter," etc., and

* Ab ipso ecclesiæ initio sequentum ordinum nomina, et unius cujusque eorum propria ministeria, subdiaconi, scil. acolyti, exorcistæ, lectores, et ostiarii, in usu fuisse cognoscuntur. Conc. Trid., Sess. xxiii., c. 2. The two remaining orders, are, diaconi and sacerdotes (presbyters).

again : "Feed My sheep." Upon him alone He builds His church ; to him He commits His sheep to be fed. And although after His resurrection He invests all the Apostles with equal power : "As the Father hath sent Me," etc., yet that He might exhibit the principle of unity, He, by His authority, so disposed matters, that that unity should take its beginning from one (Peter). All the Apostles, indeed, were what Peter was, endowed with an equal share of honour and power ; but Christ begins with one, and the primacy is assigned to Peter, that it may be shown that there is one church and one chair. . . . Of this church how can he be supposed to hold the faith who holds not the unity ? How can he who resists the Church (who deserts the chair of Peter upon whom the Church is founded) hope that he is in the Church ?* 'Where, and by whom, remission of sins is given is plain. For to Peter first, upon whom the Lord founded the church, and from whom He derived the origin of unity, was committed a power of remitting on earth sins which should be remitted in heaven. And after His resurrection, He declared to all the Apostles : "As the Father hath sent Me," etc.† 'In addition to their former misdeeds, they (the schismatics) having appointed a pseudo-bishop for themselves, dare to repair to Rome, and to the chair of Peter, the chief church whence the unity of the priesthood took its rise.‡ 'Those who took their journey to you (Cornelius) we exhorted that they would acknowledge and hold fast by the root and mother of the Catholic Church. We directed letters to be sent throughout our province, exhorting all our colleagues to ratify your election, and steadfastly to maintain fellowship and union with you, that is, with the Catholic Church itself.§ Well may Möhler point to such passages as proof that so early as the third century 'the Pope was but waiting a summons to make his appearance.'||

And if his appearance had been ascribed to human causes, and the providential course of events, it might have been acquiesced in. To make it either of Divine or of Satanic origin is equally wide of the truth : human passions, human sins, and, we may add, the love of unity inherent in Christianity, all had a share in bringing it about. The successive Popes as much obeyed as they led the tendencies of their age : western Christendom was as ready to confer upon the Bishop of Rome the supremacy as he was to receive it. De Maistre has reminded Protestants that where there is on one side a voluntary surrender of inherited rights, it is idle to talk of usurpation on the other ; and that the mediæval

* De unit. eccles. It is right to mention that the words enclosed in brackets are adjudged by Baluzius to be an interpolation.

† Epist. lxxiii.

§ *Ibid.*, xlvi.

‡ *Ibid.*, lv.

|| Einheit, etc., p. 247.

bishops of Rome only exercised powers which had been delegated to them by the free, or apparently free, consent of both churches and states. And this cannot be gainsaid. Moreover, a pious mind, contemplating the social disorders of the age, might well think that no remedy was likely to be so efficient as a central authority, feeble in a temporal point of view, but wielding spiritual powers of unlimited scope. A common Father to the half-civilized nations of Europe was no ignoble conception. The disapprobation which we must feel at the language and actions of certain Popes may be mitigated by bearing in mind that they were men, and that their position was one of difficulty and temptation. Who, in fact, will venture to ascribe to Leo the Great a deliberate design to erect a spiritual throne on the ruins of Apostolic Christianity? The event, indeed, has proved that to no human hand can the sceptre of universal empire, temporal or spiritual, be safely confided; but the evils which sprang from the Papacy were as yet in the womb of time, and unforeseen. In short, regarding the Papacy as a visible symbol of the unity of the whole Church; as a sheltering enclosure for the fundamental truths of Christianity in periods of wild license; as a moderating influence amidst barbarism and anarchy; we can neither feel surprise at its appearance, nor refuse to recognize therein the traces of a superintending providence bending human error and sin to its own purposes. It is worthy of note that at the commencement of the Reformation it was not the mere fact of the primacy of the Roman bishop to which its leaders took exception: they even declared that if the Bishop of Rome would acknowledge that his superiority to other bishops was but by *the custom of the Church*, they, on their part, would be willing to leave him in undisturbed possession of his Patriarchal relation to the churches of Europe. The passage of Melancthon to that effect is well known: 'Concerning the Roman Pontiff, my opinion is that should he admit the Gospel, the precedence which he has hitherto enjoyed, as compared with other bishops, may, to preserve the peace and tranquillity of those Christians who acknowledge his jurisdiction, be by us also accorded to him; *but only jure humano*.* Only *jure humano*; the essence of the controversy lies in those words. It is the Tridentine dogma, not the fact, of the Primacy, which Protestantism repudiated, and must ever repudiate. The Bishop of Rome was asserted to be by *Divine appointment* the Vicar of Christ, and ruler of the whole Church; the Papacy was made an essential constituent of Christianity.† In matters of faith infalli-

* Art. Smal., ad. fin.

† 'De quâ re agitur cum de primatu Pontificis agitur? brevissime dicam; de summâ rei Christianæ.' Bellarm. Præf. ad Lib. de S. P.

bility has lately been ascribed to it. It followed that no Church, however Scriptural in doctrine, or apostolic in polity, which did not acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope *jure divino* could be a true Church : its members are out of the pale of salvation, except through the uncovenanted mercies of God. 'He that reigneth on high,' so runs the Bull of Pope Pius against Elizabeth, 'to whom is given all power in heaven and earth, has committed the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, out of which there is no salvation, to one alone on earth ; namely, to Peter, prince of the Apostles, and to the Roman Pontiff, successor of Peter ; to be governed with a plenitude of power,'* 'We declare, define, and pronounce,' says Boniface VIII., 'that it is necessary to salvation that every human being should be subject to the Roman Pontiff.'† To establish these claims, and invest them with the sanction of antiquity, pretended decretals of the early bishops of Rome were made to speak the language of later times ; just as in the so-called Apostolical constitutions, which were composed about the beginning of the third century, and which throughout favour the legal, hierarchical, spirit which had begun to pervade the Church, the Apostles are introduced as laying down canons after the fashion of the age of Cyprian. In short, in the doctrine of the Papacy, as finally declared by the Council of Trent, we have a signal example of the principle on which spurious Catholicism, of every age and under all its forms, proceeds : viz., the transformation of ecclesiastical developments into Divine laws, of Christianity into a system of legal ordinances as essential to its being as those of Moses were to the Jewish economy. And we may ask, Of what avail is it to expend time, labour, and learning, in disproving the doctrine of the Papal supremacy, while we leave untouched the roots whence it sprang, and, which, if in its existing form it were abolished, would reproduce it or something like it ? The efflorescence of the disease has been mistaken for the seat of the disease. If any form of polity, Presbyterianism, Episcopacy, Metropolitanism ; if the distinction between clergy and laity ; if the appointments of ritual and worship save in their first elements ; are held to be *jure divino* ; no defensible position can be taken up against the errors of Romanism on these points.

§ 85. *Church and State.*

There are points in which these two forms of social union seem to approximate to each other, and to aim at the same results. The State, not less than the Church, is of Divine origin, so far as it rests ultimately on the instincts implanted in man by his

* Quoted by Barrow, Supremacy, etc., Introd.

† *Ibid.*

Creator, and on the providential government of the world. Like the family, it is natural to man, not the product of an imaginary social compact between governors and governed. It is not left to our choice whether our early life shall be passed under parental guidance, and the social influences of the family; the question is by Divine Providence decided for us. Neither is it a matter of choice whether we shall be members of a state or not; here, too, nature and Providence anticipate us. And, thus, in a real sense, the powers that be, are ordained of God (Rom. xiii. 1).

The State, too, has for its object, or one of its main objects, the moral training of its members. To regard it merely as an institution for the protection of life and property (one, no doubt, of its chief purposes), would be as imperfect a notion of it as it would be to consider the family as merely intended for the physical nurture of children. Heathen writers, such as Plato, entertained juster views. They looked upon the State as the greatest of schools of natural education; and, in fact, in the absence of revelation, no higher or more comprehensive organization for that purpose presented itself to them.

The State, moreover, and the Church operate on the same material, viz., fallen human nature; the former on man in his secular, the latter on man in his spiritual, capacity; but both alike on man as he is actually found. The national life, in its complex relations, furnishes the matter on which the State operates; and, like the Church, it has to contend against the ignorance and sin which it finds. Hence the Church is in Scripture described in terms derived from the two inferior but Divinely ordered institutions, the family and the State: sometimes it is called the family of God, and sometimes 'the city of the living God' (Heb. xii. 22), the new Jerusalem: an intimation that these subordinate forms of union, Family, State, and Church, will one day be merged in the higher unity of the consummated kingdom of God.

And yet the distinction between the State and the Church is an essential one. The State promotes morality under the form of compulsion; the Church under the form of freedom. The State operates by the force of external law; the Church aims at making every man a law to himself. It is not, indeed, correct to say that the function of the State is confined to repressing outward crime, and maintaining social order; for laws possess a power of awakening and educating the slumbering conscience, by stamping the brand of criminality on practices which previously had been thought indifferent—or even praiseworthy; as, for example, nations have been trained to abandon vices, or immoral customs, such as infanticide, which they had previously indulged

in, with no sense of their being crimes. The effect of treating such things as crimes is gradually to produce a feeling that they are so.* Still it remains true that the State does not demand or anticipate free action: what it enjoins and prohibits, it does so from without; it does not profess to furnish hidden springs of action, or to rectify the will. With such a moral standard, or such obedience as this, the Church is not satisfied. The inner man is the direct subject of the renovating powers committed to her administration; and spontaneous virtue is her aim. Hence the distinction between sin and crime. The State deals with crime, the Church with sin. Innumerable moral delinquencies, with which the State cannot interfere, are condemned by the Church, such as ingratitude, covetousness, selfishness in its various forms, and the like; often more repulsive than those which the State visits with penalties. The Jewish theocracy, as became its preparatory function, treated sin, in certain cases, as crime, *e.g.*, idolatry; and so formed an external barrier behind the shelter of which spiritual religion might expand its blossoms. And the State occupies a somewhat similar position towards the Church: it stands between Christianity and the impulses of unbridled human nature, which, were they permitted to act unchecked, would leave no place for the peculiar mode of operation of the Church. So far it possesses a pædagogical character. It secures, at any rate, a negative basis; life and property are protected, selfish violence suppressed. On this basis the Church prosecutes her mission.

The weapons, too, which the Church employs are different from those of the State. The State secures obedience by temporal pains and penalties, which the Church is forbidden to use. To attempt to employ the temporal power, whether in the shape of positive penalty or civil disability, to produce religious conviction, or rather conformity, is a blunder as well as a crime; it is an assumption by the State of what does not belong to it; it is an interference with the rights of conscience; and can only issue in hypocritical compliance, or religious indifference. Internal discipline, and, in the last resort, expulsion from the society; neither of which ought ever to be associated with temporal damage; are the only means which the Church possesses to secure obedience; and if profanity bursts these tender meshes, she must beware of attempting to strengthen them by an appeal to the secular arm.

From this it follows that the State and the Church never can become formally one. Let us suppose that a material identity exists between them; that is, that all the members of the body

* Ἐθίζοντες (νομοθέται) ποιοῦσιν ἀγαθοῦς. Arist., Eth. Nic., ii., 1.

political are also members of the body ecclesiastical ; still this would not affect the essential distinction between the one and the other. The same man might hold office in the State and in the Church ; but in the one capacity he would have to act on one set of principles, in the other on another. As a civil magistrate it might be his duty to condemn a man to death, whom, on apparent repentance, he might, as a member of the Church, console with the promises of Divine forgiveness. Still less can the State be regarded as the ultimate form which the Church will assume, when the latter has accomplished its mission and served its purpose.* The State never can become an instrument of *redemption*, which is the very essence of the Church's office. States, as such, have no existence hereafter ; but the Church, as the company of the redeemed, will exist for ever. The Church never can be conceived of, except as in spiritual union with its Head, Christ, that is, under the influence of His Spirit ; as perpetuated and sustained (in its earthly condition) by the means of grace ; modes of influence of which the State, as such, is not the depository. Yet their common origin from above, and their common objects, forbid that they should be antagonistic the one towards the other. The State prepares the way for the Church ; the Church leavens all departments of the State with a Christian spirit. Every citizen will perform his civil duties the better for being a Christian. Hence, on the one hand, the Christian will endeavour to further the interests of the State ; to awaken sentiments of patriotism, to promote beneficial changes in the laws, to correct social evils ; while the State, without infringing the rights of conscience, will lend the Church the protection of the civil power in securing its liberty of action, its endowments, and its rights of appeal in matters which fall under the cognizance of the secular courts. The term 'Church' in the foregoing remarks needs to be defined. It is obvious that when speaking of the connection of Church and State, we do not mean the Church in its essential being, the invisible Church of Scripture and of Protestantism ; for this, as has been explained, is not yet manifested in its corporate capacity. As the State is a local body, so must the Church be, which is supposed to be in alliance with it. And yet the definition that a true visible Church is a society in which the pure Word is preached and the sacraments duly administered, is too narrow for our present purpose ; for, however small the society, these notes may belong to it. To understand the connection of Church and State, we must realise the conception of a national Church. A national Church is the particular form which the Christianity of a nation assumes under the circumstances of race,

* Rothe, *Anfänge der Christ. Kirch.*, § 18.

temperament, and history, which have contributed to make the nation what it is. It matters not how this form has been produced ; whether spontaneously, or by the direction which the national history has taken, or by an impulse from the civil power ; it is sufficient if in the lapse of time it has settled down into a certain type. It may be difficult to analyze in what the difference between national Churches consists ; but it is none the less matter of observation. The Church of England seems suited to the genius of the English people, as a whole ; the Church of Scotland to that of the Scotch. Either is a Christian Church, and a valuable embodiment of Christianity ; but the one cannot be mistaken for the other, even setting aside external differences. A really national Church is a great providential boon to any nation. It must be distinguished from a mere State-Church, the creature of conquest, or of law, or of choice for special purposes. For example, a Church which the government for the time being may select to hallow its public acts with the offices of religion, such as the coronation of a sovereign, or the inauguration of a president, thanksgivings for a victory or peace, humiliation in times of famine or pestilence ; may, for the nonce, be called the National Church. Most Christian States would desire, as most heathen did, to add solemnity to such public events by associating religious services with them. But the Church thus selected may be the Church of the minority ; and, moreover, it may give place to another Church, in succession, for similar purposes. In such a case it is not really the national Church : much less can it be so called if it depends for existence on the civil power. Any Church may be forced on a conquered people ; but if it does not express on the whole the national religious sentiment, it will be an exotic, and remain so. This was the position of the Established Church in Ireland, not through its fault but its misfortune ; and this would have been the position of an Episcopal Church in Scotland had the injudicious attempt of Charles II. and his advisers, at the close of the seventeenth century, succeeded. There can be no national Church of Ireland, for there is not, and never has been, a united Irish people ; in Scotland there was, and is, a really national Church, which has freely developed itself on the Presbyterian model ;* and if the scheme of establishing Episcopacy by the secular power had there succeeded, nothing could have averted a civil rupture and grievous injury to religion. The counsels of a wise king and wise statesmen averted the calamity. In all such cases, the test whether a State-Church is also a national one is easy of application : if the pressure of the civil power were removed, would the nation freely

* There is no distinction on this point between the Established and the Free Church of Scotland.

and spontaneously adopt the form of Christianity sought to be imposed upon it?

Where a national Church, in the proper sense of the word, exists, the problem of reconciling the rights of the State with the rights of conscience scarcely arises, or is comparatively easy of solution. Were the nation and the Church materially one—as Hooker supposed they might be, and, in his time, not without show of reason—intolerance or persecution would be simply impossible. A man cannot persecute himself; and, in the case supposed, ecclesiastical legislation would be nothing more than the nation's legislating for itself in its religious capacity, to which no objection could be made. Difficulties arise when either there is no national Church (as in the United States of America), or the dissentients from it are so numerous as to make it impossible to disregard the fact. In the former case the State must keep aloof from special connection with any religious body (as in the United States), in the latter great caution in religious legislation is needed. It must be accounted, therefore, a misfortune if, owing to unfavourable circumstances, the nation has not been able spontaneously to mould its Christianity into a national shape, with special characteristics and historical traditions. It may still, however, be a Christian nation; as the United States justly claim that name. We may observe that of the United Kingdom as a whole there is no national Church, no one Church of the three kingdoms which are represented in the Imperial Parliament. England and Scotland have each their own Church, and if a national Church exists in Ireland, it must be confessed to be the Roman Catholic. Nevertheless, the United Kingdom is a Christian kingdom, and must be regarded as such. One advantage of a truly national Church is the bulwark which it raises against Ultramontane Romanism, the deadly foe of national independence. 'The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England' (Art. xxxvii.); the day on which the principle here asserted should be abandoned or practically forgotten, would be fraught with momentous consequences to the country. Of Churches, only a national one, such as the Gallican Church in its palmy days, can effectually co-operate with the State in resisting the Papal pretension.

Judicial oaths, the subject of Article xxxix, prove the necessary connection of religion with the State, but not necessarily of the Christian Religion. All that the State requires for the administration of justice is a recognition of the fundamental truths of natural religion, such as the existence of a God, and of a future state of reward and punishment;* if it finds Christianity accepted by the nation, so much the better; it is, as Coleridge expresses

* See Warburton, 'Alliance of Church and State.'

it,* 'a happy accident,' on which the State has reason to congratulate itself; but well-ordered states have existed without the enjoyment of the privilege. It might even be supposed that the tendency of Christianity is to deprive the State of this particular support in securing the ends of justice; for, interpreted literally, our Lord's prohibition seems to extend to oaths of every kind (Math. v. 34). And the passage in St. James' epistle, which evidently alludes to the former, seems to confirm this interpretation (chap. v. 12). But we cannot suppose that the prohibition is to be taken in this extended sense. In the Old Testament oaths appear as in common use, and are not forbidden; on the contrary they are enjoined in certain cases (Exod. xxii. 11). The law sanctioned the practice, but guarded it from abuse. The Jew was not to swear falsely (Lev. xix. 12), nor to swear by false gods (Josh. xxiii. 7); when he took a vow or oath to the Lord, he was to take care to fulfil it (Numb. xxx. 2); but he was nowhere commanded not to swear at all. Our Lord himself not unfrequently passed beyond a simple affirmation ('Verily, verily'), nor did he refuse to reply to the adjuration of the High Priest to declare whether He was the Son of God (Matt. xxvi. 63). The Apostle Paul in many passages of his epistles appeals to God for the truth of what he says (Rom. i. 9; 2 Cor. i. 23, xi. 10; Gal. i. 20); and there is nothing in the passages to lead to the conclusion that his correspondents would otherwise have doubted his word. What, then, are we to understand by Christ's prohibition in the sermon on the mount? A system of immoral casuistry among the Jews had established distinctions between oaths in which the name of God occurred and those in which it did not, the former only they held to be absolutely binding. It was said to them of old time, 'Thou shalt not forswear thyself,' and thus, if His name is used, take His name in vain (Exod. xx. 7); all such vows thou shalt not fail to 'perform unto the Lord,' as a duty the violation of which He will visit;—such injunctions Christ did not mean to abrogate, but only to warn His hearers against a corrupt interpretation of them. He reminds them that to swear by any of the creatures is, in fact, to swear by God who created and sustains them, and thus exposes the sophistry of the distinction which the Scribes and Pharisees had introduced. But solemn judicial oaths He does not allude to, or condemn. Thou shalt perform what thou hast promised, whatever be the object by which thou hast sworn; this has nothing to do with oaths imposed by the State for the promotion of justice.

* 'Idea of Church and State,' p. 59. In *Omichund v. Barker* (Smith's leading cases) it was held that the depositions of a Pagan idolator, sworn according to the custom of his country, may be received in evidence.

A question, however, may arise, whether such voluntary oaths are in themselves permissible, and our Lord replies in the negative. If Christians were always what they ought to be, neither mistrustful of their brethren nor themselves liable to be tempted to mislead, their simple affirmation (Yea, yea; Nay, nay;) would be sufficient for all purposes of social intercourse. 'Whatsoever is more than these,' any strengthening of statement, whether by an oath or not, betrays a consciousness of the sin that still cleaves to the regenerate. In proportion as Christ is formed in us, the superfluity will disappear. Oaths in common life, like 'a writing of divorcement' (Matt. v. 31), were permitted, even sanctioned, under the law, because of the spiritual imbecility of those subject to it; but both the one and the other, except in certain cases, are out of place under the Gospel; and in this sense it is, but not as abrogating judicial oaths, that Christ has supplied what was wanting in the law. In short, the prohibition seems to glance at needless, thoughtless, expletives, such as too frequently occur in common life, and not, at least directly, to oaths in a court of justice. What may be in the consummated kingdom of God we know not; we do know that at present the ideal is far from being reached. Even in Christians the State has to deal with those liable to temptation and to lapses, and, therefore, needing every support which religion can furnish to keep them in the path of duty. Just, therefore, as the analogous commands touching the *lex talionis* (vers. 38-42), cannot be understood literally without injury to society (what, *e.g.*, is of greater detriment than promiscuous and ill-regulated charity?); nay, without going counter to the example of Christ Himself who did not turn His cheek to the smiter (John xviii. 23), and of the Apostle Paul, who did not hesitate to appeal to the law and the civil power for protection from popular violence (Acts xvi. 37, xxii. 25, xxv. 11); so the administration of judicial oaths is not forbidden in a Christian state. Required and taken in a proper spirit they serve to remind the parties concerned of their duty towards the Supreme Being, and their subjection to His authority. How the State is to proceed towards those who do not acknowledge any Supreme Being is a question for jurists to decide. Where oaths are retained they should be freed from unnecessary additions, particularly those which in any way resemble heathenish adjurations, or invoke spiritual or temporal vengeance from heaven on perjurers. The penalty for false swearing, so far as it reaches beyond this world, must be left to Him who alone can mete it out with accuracy. It is possible that the objections which some pious persons entertain to even judicial oaths would be abated, if the wording and the ceremonial of them were freed from such associations.

May the Christian, as a member of the State, lawfully engage in war? Some of the ancient Fathers and some modern sects hold it unlawful, and, as they do on the question of oaths, allege certain passages of the Sermon on the Mount as justifying their opinion (Matt. v. 21, 38-41). And the foregoing remarks apply to this subject as well as to the other. When Christianity has gained complete dominion over the evil tendencies of human nature, whether in the millennium or afterwards, coercive laws will be no longer needed, and universal peace will prevail. And it is, no doubt, the duty of Christians to keep before their minds the ideal presented in this discourse of Christ. But the present state of things is an imperfect one, and Scripture recognises the fact by never recommending violent attempts at reformation, content with enunciating principles which sooner or later work a change. Thus civil government, which involves the employment of force even in the extreme form of capital punishment, is not only left undisturbed, but commended as the appointment of God. Slavery is not denounced as inconsistent with Christian profession, while yet principles are enunciated which were sure in time to bring about its abolition. Still less is the division of mankind into nations, however the effect of sin and apparently unfavourable to the spread of the Gospel, interfered with, or the virtue of patriotism disparaged. This seems sufficient to establish the lawfulness of war. For if the normal state of mankind, under this dispensation, is one of separate political communities; if a universal empire under one government is a dream which never can be realized; then the judicial machinery, which in each particular state decides between the claims of individuals and controls, by force if need be, the undisciplined impulses of human nature, can as regards nations have no place. There is no external authority to which they are bound to render obedience. International law, from which so much seems sometimes to be expected, is in reality no law at all, if by that term is to be understood a tribunal by the decision of which the litigant parties are compelled to abide. On certain points agreements or understandings may be entered into by nations; but, on due notice given, they may be broken; and, in the last resort, each nation must decide for itself what is or is not for its interests, or whether an aggression on the part of its neighbour is or is not justifiable. If the conclusion arrived at is that the national welfare, independence, or dignity is at stake, and may be compromised by yielding to what is demanded, resistance must be offered; and if no compromise is possible, war becomes inevitable. No doubt the guilt of the rupture lies at the door of the nation which allows ambition or the lust of conquest to prevail over the dictates of justice and moderation, but

considerations of this kind do not in practice operate very strongly. If the aggrieved party submits, the national honour may be compromised, if it does not, this means war. Accordingly, Scripture contains no prohibition of war, and, indeed, furnishes examples of eminent piety in the military profession (Luke vii ; 5, Acts x. 2). But although Christianity does not abrogate this ultimate arbitrament of nations, it has done a great deal in mitigation of its attendant horrors. As in every department of human agency, so in this, it has introduced a new spirit into what it does not forbid. The cruelties practised by conquerors in ancient times are not tolerated by Christian nations, and appliances in relief of suffering, never thought of by the polished nations of antiquity, now form a regular accompaniment of belligerent operations. Nor can it be doubted that the condemnation which the Gospel pronounces on wars undertaken from purely ambitious motives has done much to discredit frivolous and unnecessary appeals to arms.

MEANS OF GRACE.

The local churches, of which visible Christendom consists, have a bond of union in their relation to the one true Church, or body of Christ ; but this latter is replenished and sustained by outward means, ordained by Christ Himself to be channels of His grace, and committed to each local Church to administer ; viz., the pure teaching of the Word, the celebration of the Sacraments, and common prayer in the name of Christ. These means of grace, as they are usually called, may be considered under a threefold aspect ; as (especially the Sacraments) signs of admission into, or continuance in, the Church (*tesserae*) ; as pledges of the presence of Christ by His Spirit in the Church (*pignora*) ; and as forming the material of visible Christian worship. In idea they may be thus distinguished, in fact, each, in a greater or less degree, combines these aspects. If the Church were purely invisible, a union of sentiment merely, or, as Schleiermacher terms it,* of operations (*wirkungen*) of the Holy Ghost, these outward means might be dispensed with ; but since it is not only the effect but the instrument of Christ's saving work, and has a mission to fulfil as well as to promote its own edification ; and, since man is to be approached as a complex being, consisting of body as well as soul ; the means at the Church's disposal must be of a complex character, appealing to the senses in their application, but accompanied by invisible effects. As the Word Himself became man, in order to establish His Kingdom on earth, the Church too, without claim-

* Christliche Glaube, §§ 126, 127.

ing to be the Incarnation of Christ, needs a system of external worship, and external means of edification and extension.

A.—THE WORD.

§ 86. *Preaching.*

It was the command of Christ that, after the descent of the Holy Ghost, the Apostles should preach the Gospel to every creature (Mark xvi. 15), for faith, the appointed condition of salvation, comes by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God (Rom. x. 17); and this they considered so essential a part of their office, that before long they declined other spiritual employments which they thought might be a hindrance to their ministry of the Word and of prayer (Acts vi. 4). St. Paul declares that Christ sent him not primarily to administer sacraments, or regulate the affairs of Christian societies, but to preach the Gospel to the heathen (1 Cor. i. 17); and it is obvious that by no other instrument but the Word could the heathen be gathered into the Christian fold. But this means of grace is not to be confined to missionary effort; the work of edification in constituted Christian Churches is emphatically ascribed to it. The commission to teach all nations, with a view to Christian baptism, prescribes also the duty of instructing the converts thus made in the whole compass of Christian doctrine and practice (Matt. xxviii. 20): and accordingly we find that the first Christians, among other religious exercises, continued steadfastly under the teaching of the Apostles (Acts ii. 42). St. Paul commends the Ephesian elders, in view of impending dangers, 'to God and to the Word of His grace,' which Word was able to build them up in everything that concerned salvation (Acts xx. 32). And the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, more immediately connected with the Word, are by the same Apostle said to have been given specially for the edification of the Church: if Christ 'gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers'—it was 'for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ' (Ephes. iv. 11, 12). As it is by the Word that the seed of eternal life is sown in the heart (1 Pet. i. 23), so it is by the same Word that the new-born spiritual babe is nourished, and grows into the measure of the stature of Christ. If any means of grace, therefore, is of direct institution by Christ, this may claim the character; if any is essential to the well-being of the Church, the chief place must be assigned to this; and hence

in defining the notes of a true Church, our Article makes 'the pure preaching of the Word' one of the two essential ones. A sacramental character, too, belongs to the ordinance of preaching. It cannot, indeed, be said to have an 'outward and visible sign' in the same sense in which the two sacraments have: the winged words of the preacher do, in fact, make themselves wings and fly away: the vehicle is spiritual, and appeals to the understanding rather than to the senses; but unquestionably 'an inward spiritual grace' accompanies it. It is the principal instrument of the Holy Spirit in the work both of regeneration and sanctification. Not the human agent, but Christ Himself by His Spirit speaks in His Word, and communicates to it its saving power. Hence it ought to constitute, and in Christian assemblies conducted after the Apostolic model, in one shape or another, whether as oral teaching or as the reading of Scripture,—ever has formed, an indispensable part of Christian worship.

But what is this Word of God, and where is it to be found? Considered as immanent in God, it is the Divine plan of salvation through Christ; the *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* of Philo and his Christian disciples. Revealed, this Word becomes a *λόγος προφορικὸς*, and addresses itself to man through human agency, in history, type, prophecy, inspired oral teaching; and in so doing becomes affected with the limitations which attend every such outward vehicle. As the Trinitarian Word in becoming incarnate exhibited His Divine glory under a veil, so the Word of revelation in accomplishing its end, adapts itself to human comprehension, and is no longer quite identical with the Word as it existed from eternity in the Divine Mind. Hence there is an element of truth in the statement that Scripture is not, but contains the Word of God;* though it is sometimes employed to insinuate serious error. In Scripture, or in the oral teaching of the Apostles, the Word clothes itself in an inadequate form of expression: no human language, only that which St. Paul heard in his rapture to the third heaven, and which he describes as 'unspeakable,' and not lawful (or possible) for a man to utter (2 Cor. xii. 4), is capable of conveying it in its fulness; not to mention that human speech can never quite dissociate itself from the peculiarities of the speaker or writer, his habits of thought, his mental culture, his personal history and surroundings, his particular spiritual experience. And this applies especially to

* It is found in the first sentence of the Homily on 'the reading and knowledge of the Scripture': 'Unto a Christian man there can be nothing either more necessary or profitable than the knowledge of Holy Scripture; forasmuch as in it is contained God's true Word, setting forth His glory, and also man's duty.'

instruction by type, or typical persons, such as the Old Testament abounds with. One safeguard against error is to remember that the canon of Scripture consists not of one book but of a sacred library; in each portion of which we have indeed the Word of God but not the whole of it. It is only, therefore, by a collation of one part of Scripture with another, and a comprehensive view of the whole, that we attain to such a measure of knowledge as we can in this life expect.

To us who live in these latter times, the inspired volume is the only authentic source of what the preacher has to deliver. Types are fulfilled in Christ; inspired oral teaching in the Church has ceased; but the record of what that teaching was is to be gathered from Scripture, and from that alone. The preacher, therefore, ought to be, above all things, an expositor of Scripture.

§ 87. *Prayer in the Name of Christ.*

The essence of religion resides in the belief of a Supreme Being, distinct from the material universe, and of the possibility of establishing relations between this Being and the rational creature. When this belief is called out into active exercise, it expresses itself in prayer. Only to the atheist, who acknowledges no God, and to the pantheist, who identifies the universe, and himself as part of it, with God, can prayer seem superfluous or irrational. This converse of the soul with God, as it appears both in the Old and in the New Testament, presupposes on the part of the worshipper that he is addressing a personal God, and not the blind Fate of heathen mythology; and further, that this personal God is accessible, and that the expressed feeling of dependence and the exercise of faith are pleasing to Him: 'He that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him.' Our Lord recognized the duty and the importance of prayer, both by precept and by example; and furnished to His disciples a model which the Christian Church in all ages has followed; but it was not until towards the close of His ministry that He unfolded the essential idea of *Christian* prayer: 'Where two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them' (Matt. xviii. 20); 'Whatsoever ye shall ask in my Name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son; if ye shall ask anything in my Name, I will do it' (John xiv. 13-14); 'Hitherto ye have asked nothing in my Name; ask and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full' (*Ibid.*, xvi. 24). The Apostles, though accustomed to prayer, had not asked anything in the Name of Christ, because the work of atonement was not

accomplished until the words 'It is finished' were uttered on the Cross; and because the accomplishment was not publicly attested until Jesus, after His resurrection, proved that all power in heaven and earth was given to Him by the mission of the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, to take His place. Thenceforward, *Christian* prayer is to be offered through Him as the only Mediator between God and man; and by the assistance of His Divine Vicar, the Holy Ghost, who prompts petitions acceptable to God. The word 'Name' signifies, as is usual, the essential being of God: and to pray in the Name of Christ is not only to pray in reliance on His atoning sacrifice, but to pray under the guidance and suggestion of the Holy Spirit, Who is Christ, with and in us. The best comment on these promises of Christ is Rom. viii. 26: 'Likewise the Spirit, also, helpeth our infirmities; for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit Himself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered.' Christ in us, not without our own co-operation, but employing our natural faculties and quickening our spiritual desires, and yet the real Prompter of prayer—prays for us; and since 'He that searcheth the hearts, knoweth what is the Mind of the Spirit making intercession for the saints,' all such prayer must surely be heard; and therefore our Lord could say, 'If ye shall ask anything,' without exception, 'in my Name I will do it.' This implies that prayers may be offered which are not 'in the Name of Christ,' in the sense explained; and this need occasion no surprise when it is remembered that the Christian, though delivered from the dominion of sin is by no means free from its approaches, and may prefer requests which are not according to the Will of God, or which, at least, for reasons hidden from us but known to Omniscience, would not, if granted, promote the spiritual benefit of the suppliant, or the advancement of Christ's kingdom, or not in the way marked out by Divine wisdom. Such prayers may be natural, but they are mistakes; and to grant them might not be a real token of the Divine favour. Hence the example of Christ Himself should ever be present to us: 'If it be possible, let this cup pass from Me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt' (Matt. xxvi. 39). In every prayer, except those framed after the model of the Lord's Prayer, there must be a reservation of this kind; there must be expressed or implied resignation to His Will, who alone knows the issue and determines the course of events. It is on this condition that Christians, as individuals, are encouraged 'in everything by prayer and thanksgiving to make known their requests unto God' (Phil. iv. 6).

But prayer, as a means of grace, is essentially common, or

united, prayer; prayer expressive of the common feeling of the Church, as distinguished from the circumstances of individuals. It is to it as such that the promises of Christ are attached. And to it as such the Lord's Prayer has a special reference. In the three first petitions, 'Hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven,' Christians, noting the incomplete fulfilment of prophecy, pray that whatever hindrances stand in the way, social or political, may be removed;* in the three last, the growth of each believer in grace is the subject of supplication, so that when Providence opens the way the Church may be prepared to seize the opportunity, and under a second Pentecostal effusion achieve spiritual victories of a magnitude unknown since the apostolic age. Prayer for these objects, expressing the common desire of Christians, never can be a mistake; they cannot fail to be according to the mind of Christ and in His name; they aim at the same objects that Christ Himself is carrying forward; and so can confidently plead the promise in its most unlimited extent. In fact, they are the necessary condition, on man's part, of the fulfilment of prophecy; for since Christ works through the Church, the union of Christians in fervent prayer for an outpouring of the Spirit is itself a sign of the Church's becoming alive to her duty, and girding up her loins for the spiritual conflict.

Public prayer, as a means of grace, assumes the form either of silent assent (with, as in our Church, occasional responses) to the officiating minister, or of psalmody, which is, in fact, the congregation praying aloud. Whether it finds expression in liturgical forms, or in the unwritten outpourings of the heart, is immaterial. Its connection with the solemn assemblies of Christians on the first day of the week is obvious. Those who on the plea that they can pray always and in all places neglect 'the assembling of themselves together' (Heb. x. 25) on the stated occasions of public worship are likely not to pray at all: they certainly cannot expect the special blessing which Christ has connected with this duty, and which, even if He had not done so, may be naturally anticipated from the joint action of Christians in the work of prayer and praise.

* 'Withal praying for us that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the mystery of Christ, for which I am an ambassador in bonds' (Col. iv. 3). 'I exhort therefore that supplications, prayers, intercessions and giving of thanks be made for all men; for kings, and all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty' (1 Tim. ii. 1, 2).

B.—THE SACRAMENTS.

§ 88. *Definitions.*

The derivation of the word Sacrament, by which the other class of Christian ordinances is commonly described, is doubtful. In classical usage *sacramentum* signifies either the sum of money which the plaintiff and defendant in a suit deposited with the authorities, the share of the defeated party being devoted to religious purposes,* or the military oath of allegiance. Tertullian seems first to have used the word to denote the Christian sacraments; he describes the Christian as enlisted in the service of Christ, and his baptismal vow as corresponding to the oath by which the Roman soldier bound himself to obedience.† From him it passed, in the Western Church, into the current language of theology, though at first in a very extended meaning. It was applied not only to the sacraments of the Gospel, but to any rite or ceremony which bore a symbolical character, and even to passages of Scripture which might be interpreted allegorically. Thus Augustine calls the additions to baptism, prevalent at that time, viz., exsufflation and exorcism, sacraments; and he applies the term to the chrism at confirmation, to circumcision, ordination, marriage, the sabbath, and the water and blood which issued from the side of Christ.‡ Still, amidst this looseness of expression, baptism and the Lord's Supper occupy in ancient writers a position peculiar to themselves. It was not before the twelfth century that the definition and number of the sacraments became fixed; and particularly by P. Lombard and T. Aquinas. In the Eastern Church the Greek word *μυστήριον* is used for the Latin *sacramentum*, but it conveys a different meaning. It is probably derived from the verb *μνέω*, to initiate into the mysteries (Eleusinian, etc.); and since the ceremony took place in secret, the word came to be applied to any ordinance or doctrine of a recondite meaning; and, particularly in the Eastern liturgies, to the two sacraments.

By the schoolmen various definitions of a sacrament are given. They will be found enumerated by Bellarmine,§ and are essentially founded on Augustine's statements: 'A sacrament is a sign

* Either from *sacrare* to devote to the gods, or because the sum was placed in loco sacro. Varro, L. L., v., 36.

† Credimusne humanum sacramentum divino superduci licere, et in alium dominum respondere post Christum? De Cor., c. xi.

‡ 'The holy Catholic Fathers have made mention, not only of seven, as M. Harding here accounteth them, but, also, of seventeen sundry sacraments.' Jewell, Def. Ap., c. xi., div. 2.

§ De Sac., L. i., c. xi.

of a sacred thing,* instituted 'as a token of Christian fellowship,'† 'a visible word,' for it is the word, not which is spoken, but which is believed, that 'transforms the element' (the material part) into a sacrament.‡ 'A sacrament' (that is, the visible element) 'is so called because of its similitude to the thing signified; for if this resemblance did not exist, the sacrament would not be entitled to the name; and on account of it the signs commonly bear the name of the things signified'§ (as, *e.g.*, the bread and wine are called the body and blood of Christ). The symbolical element of the sacraments, which Augustine thus so strongly enforces, did not commend itself to the founders of the scholastic theology, by whom the doctrine of an inherent virtue in the elements was generally held, and accordingly the necessary additions were made. By Hugo de St. Victor the symbolism of the ordinances is not denied, but the remark is appended that the sacraments, by virtue of consecration, 'contain a certain invisible and spiritual grace.'¶ Or, as he expresses it in another work, 'The sacrament not only signifies, but also confers, that of which it is the sign.'¶ And so, though more concisely, his contemporary P. Lombard; 'A sacrament is in this sense a sign of invisible grace that it is both a representation and a *cause* thereof.'** The theory was more fully worked out by T. Aquinas. 'Sacraments,' he says, 'are applied for the sanctification of men, their medicinal properties being proportioned to the twofold nature of man, body and soul.'†† 'They are the cause of grace in the soul, not, however, the primary cause, for God alone is that, but the instru-

* *Sacrificium visibile invisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, id est, sacrum signum, est.* De C. D., x., c. v.

† *Sacramentis numero paucissimis societatem novi populi collegavit (Christus).* Epist. liv., 1.

‡ *Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum, etiam ipsum tanquam visibile verbum: unde ista tanta virtus aquæ ut corpus tangat et cor abluat, nisi faciente verbo? Non quia dicitur sed quia creditur.* In Joh. Evang. Tract lxxx. The 'word' in this passage has been interpreted of the word of consecration; but this is hardly reconcilable with non quia dicitur sed quia creditur.

§ *Si enim sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum quarum sacramenta sunt non habent, omnino sacramenta non essent.* Epist. xcvi., 9.

¶ *Sacramentum est corporale vel materiale elementum foris sensibilibus propositum, ex similitudine representans et ex institutione significans et ex sanctificatione continens aliquam invisibilem et spiritualem gratiam.* De Sac., L. i., P. ix., c. 2.

¶ *Non solum significat sed etiam confert illud cuius est signum.* Sum. Sent. Tr., iv., c. i.

** *Ita signum gratiæ ut ipsius imaginem gerat et causa existat.* L. iv., dist. i., B.

†† *Sacramenta adhibentur ad hominum sanctificationem. Homo componitur ex animâ et corpore, cui proportionatur sacramentalis medicina, quæ per rem visibilem corpus tangit, et per verbum (consecrationis?) ab animâ creditur.* Sum. Theol., P. iii., Q. lx., A. 6.

mental: the difference may be thus illustrated; fire by virtue of its own form* produces heat, and the effect is similar to the energy; in this sense God is the Author of grace, and this grace is nothing but a communication of the Divine nature, according to 2 Pet. i. 4;† whereas a mere instrumental cause does not operate by virtue of its own form, but only by the motion which it receives from the principal agent; as, *e.g.*, the carpenter's axe does not cut from itself, nor is there a resemblance between it and the work produced. It is in this latter sense that the sacraments of the new law are the cause of grace.‡ If the question be asked, what is the grace of which the sacraments are the cause? the answer is, not the increase of ordinary sanctifying grace, but a grace peculiar to each sacrament. 'There are three applications which the word grace admits of: abstractedly, *secundum se*, it perfects the essence of the soul so far forth as it communicates participation of the Divine nature; and from this proceed various gifts and virtues which co-operate with the powers of the soul: but over and above these there is a sacramental grace, communicated only by the sacraments, which produces certain special effects necessary in the Christian life; as, *e.g.*, the special grace of baptism is a kind of spiritual regeneration,§ and so as regards the other sacraments.' 'The sacraments of the new law contain grace, not merely as signs thereof, but as instrumental causes' (that is, grace is attached to them physically as distinguished from morally). On the subject of the baptismal character, which is to be distinguished from the grace peculiar to each sacrament, T. Aquinas proceeds as follows: 'The sacraments are appointed for two ends, as a remedy against sin, and to perfect the soul in matters relating to the worship of God. But whoever is deputed to a certain secular function usually receives a visible sign thereof; as, *e.g.*, soldiers in former times were stamped in the body. For spiritual functions the stamp must, of course, be spiritual, or on the soul; and on its powers as distinguished from its essence since it is conferred for spiritual actions. Upon those who receive the character the Divine bounty confers grace for the due per-

* Form is here used in the Aristotelic sense, as distinguished from matter.

† The original is *θείας φύσεως*, a divine nature; not *τῆς θείας φύσεως*, the divine nature.

‡ This cannot be said of the sacraments of the old law (circumcision and the passover), for since the cause of the inherent efficacy of the sacraments of the new law is the Passion of Christ, completed and not merely predicted, the effect cannot be supposed to exist before the cause.

§ *Baptismus ordinatur ad quandam spiritualem regenerationem*. The word *quandam* is significant: the meaning of T. Aquinas is that baptismal regeneration, as explained by him, is not necessarily *moral* regeneration. The expression testifies to a certain hesitation in his mind as to this application of the term regeneration.

formance of such actions. The character, being a participation of the priesthood of Christ, is indelible and unchangeable, unlike grace which is subject to variations. Only three of the seven sacraments impress the character, viz., baptism, confirmation, and orders, for they only are not repeated.* The sin of the minister does not interfere with the efficacy of the sacrament, though he may thereby be himself guilty of mortal sin; but the intention of the minister, strictly so called, may, if of a certain kind, be an effectual bar. The mere outward act, as, *e.g.*, in baptism the ablution of water, may be variously applied; to the cleansing of the body, or for sanitary purposes, or with a spiritual intention; therefore it is necessary that it be determined to the specific effect which it is intended to produce. Hence there must be an intention on the part of the minister to baptize; but if this be present, lesser defects, such as inattention to what he is saying, administration for sinister purposes, even absence of faith, especially if it be concealed, will not invalidate the ordinance. But a celebration in mere sport does so; for in this case there is no intention of doing what the Church intends. A secret unbeliever may intend to do what the Church intends, though he does not believe what the Church affirms; and heretics may likewise so intend, because, however erroneously, they consider themselves to be the true Church, or part of it. They confer the *sacramentum* but not the *rem sacramenti*, viz., remission of sins and sanctifying grace.† These concessions were intended to obviate the difficulty, that if the efficacy of the sacrament were made to depend on the intention of the minister in every sense, no one, however devout, could be sure of receiving sacramental grace.

Such was, on the doctrine of the Sacraments, the elaborate structure which had gradually grown up, attaining under the great schoolmen its full proportions and symmetry: Augustine laid the foundations, his successors carried it on, and the Aristotelian philosophy was applied by T. Aquinas with boundless ingenuity and great dialectical power to complete the edifice. The sacramental theories of the middle ages, sacerdotal throughout, fell in naturally with the hierarchical tendencies then coming to a head. Not, however, without opposition from various quarters. To say nothing of Berengar of Tours and Ratramnus, some of the earlier schoolmen endeavoured to rescue the symbolism of the Sacraments, or, at least, to purge the popular system from its worst excrescences. Even at the Council of Trent great differences prevailed between the leading schools of thought on this subject; and particularly on two points, the

* Is their not being repeated the cause, or the effect, of indelibility?

† Sum. Theol., P. iii., QQ. lx.-lxiv.

inherent causative power of the Sacraments (*continent gratiam*), and the intention of the minister, the Dominicans and Franciscans took opposite sides. Ambrose Catharinus, a leading theologian present, forcibly pointed out the inconveniences that might arise from an undue pressing of the doctrine of intention, nor did he conceal his opinions even after the decree of the Council on the subject had assumed its present shape.* The majority, however, favoured the Dominicans, and the Canons of the Council prove how exactly they were framed after the decisions of the schools. 'Since,' the Council says (Sess. vii.), 'it is through the Sacrament that true justifying righteousness commences, or is increased, or, if lost, is restored; it is important, especially since various heresies on the subject are prevalent, to lay down the following Canons: "If anyone shall affirm that the Sacraments of the new law do not contain the grace which they signify, or do not confer this grace on those who interpose no bar,† as if they were merely signs of grace or justification already received, let him be anathema" (vi.). "If anyone shall affirm that grace is not conferred by the Sacraments *ex opere operato*, but that faith in the divine promise suffices to obtain grace, let him," etc. (viii.). "If anyone shall affirm that in the three Sacraments, Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders, there is not a character impressed on the soul which is indelible, let him," etc. (ix.). "If anyone shall say that in celebrating the Sacrament an intention is not required of doing at least what the Church does, let him," etc.‡ (xi.). Thus the floating theories of individual writers, or schools of writers, were transformed into articles of faith, and the Sacraments of the Gospel, which were designed to be bonds of union among Christians, became the occasion of a rupture apparently irreconcilable.

Next to the doctrine of justification by faith, or rather as a consequence of it, that of the sacraments could not fail to claim the attention of the Reformers. Yet it was only by degrees that they freed themselves from the yoke of ecclesiastical tradition, and arrived at the conclusions which appear in the Protestant Confessions, particularly those of the reformed type. The Augsburg Confession merely lays it down that 'the sacraments were instituted not only to be notes of profession amongst men, but also to be signs and testimonies of the will of God towards us, for the purpose of stimulating and strengthening faith. To the right use of the sacraments that faith which accepts the promises is necessary. We condemn those who teach that the sacraments

* Sarpi, L. ii., § 66.

† The bar, or obex, is mortal sin; if this be absent, the *bonus motus* of the recipient is immaterial.

‡ Conc. Trid., Sess. vii.

justify *ex opere operato*, and who do not teach that faith in the remission of sin is necessary.* The Apology of the Confession (Melancthon) adds that, 'As regards the number of the sacraments we do not attach much importance to it, especially since the ancients differ on this point. If we define sacraments to be rites appointed by God, and with a promise of grace attached, three such are found in Scripture, Baptism, the Supper of the Lord, and Absolution. We condemn the whole tribe of the schoolmen who teach that the sacraments are vehicles of grace *ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis*, to those who interpose no bar to their operation.† Here the doctrine of the *opus operatum* is condemned, but the number of the sacraments is not yet defined. In the articles of Smalcald and the two catechisms (minor and major) composed by Luther, the sacraments in general are not treated of, and baptism and the Eucharist but briefly; and not without reason, for, in truth, Luther's own opinions on the subject had varied from time to time. It is seldom that a reaction against prevalent errors recognizes the particle of truth which they may contain, and the early history of the Reformation presents no exception to this remark, nor was the temperament of its leader likely in all cases to recommend moderation of statement. The revival of the doctrine of justification by faith, Luther's great work, was naturally accompanied by a protest against the scholastic doctrine of the infusion of justifying grace in and by the sacraments, with its kindred tenets, the *opus operatum* and the powers of the priesthood. The symbolical nature of the sacraments, which had been well nigh lost sight of for many ages, came to the front, and in insisting on this vital point, Luther and Melancthon, to say nothing of the Swiss Reformers, at first lay under the temptation to consider these ordinances rather as signs and pledges of the remission of sin than as channels of grace. But Luther's controversy with Carlstadt and Zwingli, which at one time threatened to produce a rupture between the Saxon and the Swiss Protestant Churches, resulted in his modifying his earlier views, so far at least as regards the connection of the elements (*sacramentum*) with the grace conveyed (*res sacramenti*): he retraced his steps in the direction of the system in which he had been nurtured on the subject of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist; and finally enunciated a doctrine on the identity of the sign and the thing signified, to distinguish which from that of transubstantiation as taught by the Church of Rome, requires some dexterity.‡

* Conf. Augs., § 83.

† C. vii.

‡ Confitemur quod in cœnâ Domini corpus et sanguis Christi vere et substantialiter sint præsentia et quod una cum pane et vino distribuuntur atque sumantur. Form. Concord., c. vii., B. i.

The doctrine of the Swiss reformers on the sacraments passed through a similar process of development, though it stopped short of the Lutheran in sundry material points. Zwingli's conception of the sacraments is that of their being signs of Christian profession, certifying to the Church that the recipient is a believer; commemorative of a past redemption, but not channels of present grace.* But this exclusively symbolical view was not adopted by the Helvetic confessions. In the first of them, 1553, with which the others substantially agree, sacraments are described as 'mystical symbols, consisting of the Divine word (of promise), the signs, and the things signified; by which God preserves in His Church the remembrance of Gospel blessings, and from time to time renews them; by which also He seals His promises, and so strengthens and increases our faith.'† Calvin himself, whose position was that of a mediator between the earlier Swiss teaching as represented by Zwingli and Æcolampadius and the Lutheran, adds little of any moment to these statements, except in one point. A sacrament he defines to be 'an external symbol, by which God seals the promises of His goodwill towards us, in order to strengthen the weakness of our faith; and we, in turn, testify before Him, the angels, and men, our devotion to His service.'‡ The point which he more prominently brings forward is the independence of the thing signified of the sign: 'Augustine's distinction between the *sacramentum* and the *res sacramenti* not only implies that figure and reality there meet together, but that they are not so connected as to be inseparable. Hence that thou mayst receive not an empty sign but the thing signified with it, the Word which is therein included thou must receive by faith. Thus in proportion to thy communion with Christ will be the benefit which thou wilt receive with the sacraments.'§ Whatever minor differences exist between the Reformed and the Lutheran churches, all Protestants agree in holding that the sacraments are not only symbols (*signa*), but seals (*sigilla*),

* 'Sunt sacramenta signa vel ceremoniæ quibus se homo probat aut candidatum aut militem esse Christi; redduntque ecclesiam totam potius certiore de tua fide quam te.' De ver. et fals. rel. Occasionally, however, he speaks otherwise. See Möhler, Symb., § 31.

† Comp. the following confessions: Vanitatem eorum qui affirmant sacramenta nil aliud esse quam mera et nuda signa esse omnino damnamus. Conf. Scot., A. xxi. Sunt sacramenta symbola et sigilla visibilia rei internæ et invisibilis, per quæ ceu media Deus virtute S. sancti in nobis operatur. Conf. Belg., § xxxiii. Sacramenta sunt sacra et in oculos incurrentia signa et sigilla, ob eam causam a Deo instituta, ut per ea nobis promissionem Evangelii magis declaret et obsignet; quod scilicet non universis tantum verum etiam singulis credentibus gratis donet remissionem peccatorum. Cat. Heidelb., § lxxv.

‡ Inst., L. iv., c. 14.

§ Inst. L. iv., c. 14, s. 15.

or pledges (*pignora*), of what they symbolize. And thus we may the better understand the definition of our Church (which is of the Reformed, not of the Lutheran, family): 'Sacraments are not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's goodwill towards us; by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken but also confirm and strengthen our faith in Him . . . the promises of forgiveness of sin and of our adoption to be the sons of God are visibly signed and sealed' (AA. 25-7).

§ 89. *Number of the Sacraments.*

Melancthon, in the passage already quoted, dismisses this question as of little importance, on the ground that the ancients differed on it. The ancients used the term sacrament in a looser sense than afterwards prevailed, but they did not define the number. This omission, like others, was supplied by the schoolmen. T. Aquinas lays it down that the sacraments are seven in number, viz., Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Matrimony.* He is followed by the Council of Trent, which, under an anathema, pronounces them to be neither more nor less than seven. The same Canon ascribes them all to the institution of Christ Himself.† There is no doubt that both baptism and the Lord's Supper answer to this description, but as regards the other five, the evidence fails. Confirmation appeals to no higher sanction than the fact that the Apostles were accustomed to lay hands on persons recently baptized, that they might receive the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost;‡ ordination, as practised by the Apostles, can plead no institution by Christ; nor can penance, nor extreme unction, still less matrimony. If it be urged that, at any rate, these latter are apostolic, and so far may be referred to Christ; even in this modified sense two only fulfil the definition, viz., confirmation and ordination. For though an Apostle recommends anointing the sick with oil (Jas. v. 14), this was not as a sacramental ordinance cleansing the departing soul from venial sins here contracted, but with a view to the *patient's*

* Sum Theol., P. iii., Q. lxxv.

† Si quis dixerit sacramenta novæ legis non fuisse omnia a Jesu Christo instituta; aut esse plura vel pauciora quam septem . . . anathema sit. Sess. vii., Can. 1.

‡ Acts viii. 17. That the spiritual gift here mentioned was an extraordinary one appears from verses 18, 19, and c. x., 44-46. Simon can hardly be supposed desirous of purchasing the ordinary gifts of confirming and strengthening; the power of miraculous gifts (such as healing) he might have turned to profitable account.

recovery; and on his recovery penance would be, according to the Church of Rome, the appropriate rite to obtain forgiveness of sin. The penitential institute itself, consisting of contrition, confession, and satisfaction on the part of the penitent, and absolution by the priest, is not of apostolic appointment, much less of Christ's. The only passage which Bellarmine can allege in favour of his position, is that in which Christ is said to have breathed on the disciples, authorizing them to remit and retain sins (John xx. 22, 23), but the parallel passage in St. Luke's Gospel proves that the commission was not given to the Apostles alone, but to the *disciples* assembled. 'On the first day of the week at evening, the eleven being gathered together and *them that were with them*,' Jesus appeared and said unto them, 'Peace be with you' (Luke xxiv. 33, 36). Whatever, then, the meaning of the commission may be, it is plain that it contains no power of absolution confined to a priestly caste: it is the whole Church that was addressed.* All that can be traced—distinctly traced—to Christ is the power of discipline, conferred on the whole congregation (Matt. xviii. 18); the ministry of the word which proclaims forgiveness of sin on repentance and faith, and retention of it on persistent impenitence; and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, in His manifold gifts, for the exercise of these functions. But no rite of ordination, of a sacramental character, can claim Christ as its author. As regards matrimony—an institution which dates from creation can be a sacrament neither of the law nor of the Gospel. It probably never would have been regarded as such but for the use of the word *sacramentum* by the old Latin Version and the Vulgate as a translation of the Greek word *μυστήριον*; which, however, never signifies an ordinance but a doctrine or interpretation before hidden but now revealed. Thus St. Paul speaks of 'the mystery of Christ which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men, but is now revealed unto His holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit,' viz., the extension of Gospel blessings to the Gentiles (Ephes. iii. 4-6); Christian ministers are described as stewards of 'the mysteries of God' (1 Cor. iv. 1), and the context proves that the Apostle is speaking not of sacraments but of the preaching of the Word. 'Great,' he affirms in another place, 'is the mystery of godliness;' but the mystery consisted in the facts of the Incarnation and Ascension, as expounded by him in their various rela-

* Augustine perceived this: *Accipite Spiritum S. cum dixisset, continuo subjecit, si cui dimiseritis peccata dimittuntur ei; hoc est, Spiritus dimittit, non vos. Deus habitat in templo suo, hoc est, in sanctis suis fidelibus, in ecclesia sua: per eos dimittit peccata qui viva templa sunt.* Sermon. xcix., 9. Ergo si ecclesiæ personam gerebant, et sic eis dictum hoc, *dictum est tanquam ipsi ecclesiæ diceretur: pax ecclesiæ dimittit peccata, et ab ecclesiæ pace alienatio tenet peccata.* De Bapt. Cont. Don., iii., 18.

tions (1 Tim. iii. 16). In the instance before us the 'great mystery' of Ephes. v. 32 is to be understood, not as a sacrament, but as a hidden truth which was now first brought to light, viz., that the marriage tie was intended to be a symbol of the union betwixt Christ and His Church.

It thus appears that three of the so-called sacraments of the Church of Rome, Penance, Extreme Unction, and Matrimony, cannot lay claim even to apostolic precedent; but supposing they could do so, we may still ask whether Apostolic appointments can be placed on a level with those of Christ Himself. That the general promise that the Apostles should be led by the Holy Ghost into the whole truth (John xvi. 13) includes their regulations as well as their teaching may with some limitations be admitted; and, indeed, in one instance this is claimed by them (Acts xv. 28); but we do not find this claim advanced beyond matters of polity, or questions affecting the discipline of the Church, or decisions on important practical points, such as the obligation of the Mosaic law on Gentile converts. Apostolic decisions or appointments of this kind are not lightly to be set aside; we are sure that they were the best for the time being, and the burden of proving that they are no longer necessary rests on those who would abrogate or alter them; and in fact the greater part of them do remain to this day acknowledged by Christians. That is, they are *relatively* binding; but when it is affirmed that they are absolutely binding, we appeal to the practice of the Church itself in disproof. Several undoubted apostolic appointments have been allowed to fall into abeyance; as, for example, the prohibition of eating 'things strangled' or 'blood' which at the time was expedient, the anointing of the sick with oil, the kiss of charity, the love-feasts of the Apostolic Church, and the washing of the saints' feet after the example of Christ (1 Tim. v. 10). If every apostolical ordinance is to be held of Divine institution, it would seem that Christian Churches, our own included, have erred gravely in abandoning those just mentioned. But the Church has judged rightly in declining to place them in the same category with the positive institutions of Christ Himself, such as baptism and the Lord's supper; partly because the latter do proceed directly from Christ, and partly because, in fact, they symbolize and seal the fundamental verities of the Gospel, the atonement of the Cross, and regeneration by the Holy Spirit.* And the subsequent additions of ritual, such as in baptism exorcism, exsufflation, milk and honey; in confirmation, anointing with oil, and the sign of the cross; bear the same relation to the

* Properly understood, Chrysostom's remark is to the point: ἐξ ὧν (baptism and the Lord's supper) ἡ ἐκκλησία συνέστηκε.

apostolical precedents as the latter do to the appointments of Christ. They may, or may not, have been devised in an apostolical spirit; but, in any case, they are merely ecclesiastical additions, and have no claim to rank even with the apostolical appointments. Christian polity and ritual are elastic as compared with those of the Mosaic economy; and the Church is not debarred from expanding or modifying her outward forms according to circumstances, provided always that such changes are apostolical in spirit. But they must not be invested with an authority which they do not possess. And the peculiar danger to which Catholicism, in its various forms, is liable lies in this point. Instead of justifying itself on grounds of order, adaptation to circumstances, legitimate, if human, developments of the primitive arrangements, it has always been tempted to allege some secret tradition handed down by the Apostles; or to assume that Christ's discourses during the great forty days must have been occupied with such matters; or to appeal, in support of its claims, to spurious literature, such as the Apostolical constitutions. A frail foundation, and as needless as it is frail; for all such developments, if legitimate, can appeal to the Scriptural principle that 'where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty.'

A second alleged note of a sacrament is, that it is an instrument whereby justifying grace is infused into the recipient.* With four of the seven, Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, and Extreme Unction, such grace may conceivably be connected, but, surely, not with orders and matrimony. The sacrament of orders, besides the impressed character, is said to confer grace;† but grace of what kind? Not either justifying or sanctifying grace (which according to the doctrine of Rome are one), but a mystical grace of priesthood for the valid performance of holy functions. This grace contains nothing *moral* in it; for the most immoral priest may possess it equally with the most holy; it is a grace not *gratum faciens* but *gratis data*. This note, therefore, does not belong to orders. No more does it to matrimony. This natural union is indeed elevated to a special dignity by its being chosen as a figure of union with Christ, and, like all natural relations, needs grace for the due discharge of its duties; but how can a special sacramental grace, and especially of a justifying nature, be ascribed to it? The only Scriptural proof which the Council

* *Sacramenta per quæ omnis vera justitia vel incipit, vel cœpta augetur, vel amissa reparatur.* Conc. Trid., Sess. vii. Proem. Principem locum (effectuum) gratia illa obtinet quam usitato a sacris doctoribus nomine justificantem vocamus. Cat. Trid., De Sac., § 26.

† Si quis dixerit per sacram ordinationem non dari Spiritum S., aut per eam non imprimi characterem, anathema sit. Conc. Trid., Sess. xxiii., Can. 4.

alleges is Ephes. v. 23, on which sufficient has been already said. Indeed, since the sacramental character of matrimony resides in its indissolubility, it is plain that actual holiness is not necessary to confer this character on it.

From another point of view the same conclusions follow. By the schoolmen each sacrament is held to consist of two parts, matter and form. For example, the matter in baptism is water, and the form is added by the recitation of the words: 'I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;' in the Eucharist the matter is bread and wine, and the determining form the words of institution, 'Take eat,' etc., pronounced by the priest in the act of consecration. The whole doctrine of transubstantiation, philosophically considered, rests on this distinction, which has no actual existence, and is merely a logical abstraction. But in the other five sacraments we can discover either no matter or no form, or neither matter nor form. What, for example, is the matter in confirmation? Not the laying on of hands, for that ceremony was used both by Christ and the Apostles on a variety of occasions; by Christ in blessing little children (Mark x. 16), and performing miracles (*Ibid.*, viii. 23), by the Apostles in healing the sick (Acts xxviii. 8), in communicating the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, and in ordaining ministers. A rite common to many spiritual acts loses its appropriation to any one of them. The chrism, and sign of the cross, have no Scriptural warrant. So that, to say nothing of the lack of an efficacious word impressing the 'form,' no specific 'matter' can be found for this alleged sacrament. The same remarks apply to orders. The oil in extreme unction may indeed supply the place of 'matter,' but here the 'form' is wanting, for nothing is mentioned by St. James in connection with the unction but prayer, and prayer differs essentially from a word endued with power. With respect to the sacraments of penance and matrimony the difficulty is still greater. What can be the matter and form of penance? It has confessedly no symbol like the water in baptism, and the schoolmen were sore put to it to discover a matter of another kind. A distinction was drawn between those sacraments which convey some positive grace, and those which merely remove post-baptismal sin and its effects; in the former an external matter is necessary, in the latter the acts of the penitent himself (contrition, confession, satisfaction) constitute the matter. If it be objected that baptism itself comes under the latter class, the reply is that baptism confers not only a plenary remission of sin, but the gift of regeneration.* By some

* Est attendendum quod in illis sacramentis in quibus confertur excellens gratia, quæ superabundat omnem facultatem humani actûs, adhibeter aliqua

writers the sins of the penitent, as the lignum or material for the consuming fire of the sacrament, were held to be the matter; but the other opinion was the more common one.* As regards the 'form,' it consists in the words of absolution, *absolvo te*. It is needless to observe that no institution by Christ, or precedent by the Apostles, could be pretended in this case. That of matrimony was still more perplexing. Neither matter nor form, in any proper sense of the words, could be found here. T. Aquinas makes the consent of the parties the matter, and the words expressing this consent the form;† while others consider the persons of the contracting parties the matter, and the words the form. Both the Council of Trent and the Catechism observe a prudent silence on this point. Bellarmine's opinion, founded on a distinction between the sacrament as it becomes a sacrament, and the same sacrament afterwards, is that, under the former aspect, the words of consent are both matter and form, under the latter the persons are the matter, since their continued union is a symbol of that betwixt Christ and the Church.‡ Recourse was finally had to the mystical import of the number seven, and to analogies from nature. There are seven sins, or forms of sin, for each of which a particular remedy is needed; seven cardinal virtues; seven gifts of the Spirit. The blood of the red heifer was to be sprinkled seven times (Numb. xix. 4); Naaman was told to wash in Jordan seven times. The correspondence between the natural and the spiritual life, as expounded by T. Aquinas, seems a favourite argument with Romish writers, from Bellarmine to Möhler.§ In the natural life, Thomas observes, a person may be considered either as an individual, or as a member of a community; and further, his progress towards perfection may be either positive or negative, either by natural growth, or by the removing of impediments thereto. We thus arrive at seven

corporalis materia exterius; sicut in baptismo, ubi fit plena remissio peccatorum et quantum ad culpam et quantum ad poenam, et in confirmatione ubi datur plenitudo Spiritus sancti, et in extremâ unctione ubi confertur perfecta sanitas spiritualis. In illis autem sacramentis quæ habent effectum correspondentem humanis actibus, ipsi actus humani sensibiles sunt loco materiæ, ut accidit in Pœnitentiâ et Matrimonio. T. Aqu., P. iii., Q. lxxiv., A. 1.

* T. Aqu. combines both views by a distinction of his own: Duplex est materia, proxima et remota, sicut statuae proxima est metallum, remota vero aqua. Materia proxima hujus sacramenti (Pœnitentiæ) sunt actus pœnitentis, remota materia sunt peccata, non acceptanda, sed detestanda et destruenda. *Ibid.*, Q. lxxiv., A. 2.

† P. iii., Suppl., Q. xvii., A. 1.

‡ De Mat., L. i., c. 6. If in this sacrament (matrimony) the persons themselves furnish both matter and form, where is the need of a minister?

§ De Sac., L. ii., c. 26. Symbolik, § 30.

principal functions or epochs in the natural life. By birth we come into active existence, and to this the new birth by baptism corresponds. Strength to labour and repel enemies comes with growth; the counterpart of this is confirmation. For growth we need nourishment; the Eucharist furnishes the nourishment of the soul. We are liable to bodily infirmities, sickness, etc., which demand the aid of the physician; the sacrament of penance is for the healing of the soul that has sinned. We need proper diet for a complete restoration to health; in spiritual things extreme unction discharges this office. We are members of a community, which involves the exercise of authority and the discharge of public duties, with corresponding ability; the sacrament of orders qualifies for similar spiritual functions. By such membership the race is propagated; the sacrament of matrimony confers grace for the conjugal relation, and the due training of children, if any. So runs the parallel; but it is far from being satisfactory. Confirmation, it is said, confers spiritual strength, the Eucharist spiritual nourishment; but nourishment and strength are so intimately connected with, and dependent on, each other, that they can hardly need two distinct sacraments to produce the effect. The Eucharist presupposes repentance for sin and seals to the penitent the promises of forgiveness; a special sacrament of penance seems superfluous. Confirmation, or some ordinance resembling it, has a necessary place in every church which practises infant baptism; the immaturity of the subject rendering it expedient that, before being admitted to the Holy Communion, he should give a public assurance to the Church of his intention to ratify the vows made for him in his baptism. But this does not constitute it a distinct sacrament. Men, as members of a State, need to be governed; but since the sacrament of orders applies only to the clergy, the civil magistrate receives no benefit from it. The duties of the matrimonial state need only the aid of common grace; and further, only those who enter that state receive the sacrament. But the sacraments of Christ are intended for all Christians. The dying Christian needs, indeed, special consolation; but the Eucharist supplies all that is here needful. In short, as Nitzsch observes,* in the natural life birth admits only of one parallel, viz., growth; the child is born into the world, the babe grows into a man, these are the two essential conditions of the discharge of the various duties of life. If there has been no birth, the functions of a human being have never been performed at all; if the life, thus begun, is not maintained by the proper means, they cease to be performed. No subordinate differences of relation or function

* Prot. Beant., Möhler's, p. 182.

can be placed on a level with these essential conditions of existence, which are the same for all men, savage or civilized, governors or governed, married or single. The analogy, therefore, from nature confirms the Protestant position, that two, and only two, Christian rites are, in the proper sense, sacraments of Christ. Christ is the Author of sundry gifts and graces, but spiritual life, and the maintenance of spiritual life, lie at the foundation of their exercise, and are common to all Christians, private and official. Regeneration, and growth in grace, comprise every spiritual blessing. It was in an unhappy moment, therefore, that the Tridentine Council transformed what had been a speculation of the schools into an article of faith, and thereby added one more to the many differences which stand in the way of a reconciliation between the Romish and the Protestant churches. The Council and the Romish theologians claim tradition in their favour. In point of fact, no fixed, certainly no authoritative, doctrine touching the number of the sacraments appears before the Council of Florence, A.D. 1439. The leaders of the Reformation demanded, and rightly so, that when the question was concerning the covenanted means of grace, the seal of Christ Himself—His institution, His promise—should be produced; and they proved that to only two out of the seven did this description apply. Indeed, if a sacred meaning is all that is necessary to constitute a sacrament, there are other observances better entitled to the name than several of those selected by the Council. Such, for example, as prayer, the sign of the cross, almsgiving, the Holy Scripture, the kiss of charity, the washing of the saints' feet recommended by the example of Christ Himself (John xiii. 5).^{*} The selection seems an arbitrary one, resting on no consistent principle.

§ 90. *Opus operatum.*

The Council of Trent lays great emphasis on the efficacy of the sacraments *ex opere operato*; it is proper, therefore, that what this doctrine means should be understood, especially since the Council, perhaps from prudential motives, furnishes no explanation of it.[†] To suppose that it expresses nothing but what our Article does,

^{*} The washing of the disciples' feet by Christ causes embarrassment to the Romish theologians. It seems to possess greater claims to be a sacrament than Matrimony or Orders. As Bellarmine observes, it has a visible sign, a promise of grace ('If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me'), a mysterious meaning ('What I do thou knowest not now,' etc.), a command ('I have given you an example,' etc.), and Patristic authority. His attempt to reply is not very successful. De Sac., L. ii., c. 24.

[†] In fact, there was so much dissension on the subject when discussed at Trent, that it was thought safer, while retaining the term, to leave its meaning more or less an open question.

when it declares that the 'unworthiness of the minister does not hinder the effect of the sacraments' (Art. xxvi.) would leave unexplained why an anathema should be launched against those who deny it; for no Protestant Church does deny it in this sense. Möhler expends labour in vain in attempting to prove that *ex opere operato*, as understood in his Church, is equivalent to saying that the efficacy of the sacraments is owing to their institution by Christ, and not to any worthiness of the minister or meritorious co-operation on the part of the receiver? * Every Protestant Confession teaches that it is Christ's institution, Christ's word of promise, Christ's Spirit, that are the efficient causes of whatever grace the sacraments confer. The real meaning of the term is to be sought in the distinction which the later schoolmen, and after them the Romish theologians, make between the sacraments of the old law (Circumcision and the Passover being assumed to be sacraments) and those of the new. The latter are said to be superior to the former, in that they confer grace *ex opere operato*, while the others conferred it *ex opere operante*, or rather, *operantis*; that is to say, to the efficacy of the Jewish sacraments a right disposition on the part of the receiver was necessary, and in proportion to his piety was the blessing received; but the Christian sacraments produce their effect irrespectively of the spiritual state of the receiver, by virtue of the *opus operatum*, † the mere act of receiving, provided only that no impediment (*obex*) of mortal sin is present. No positive preparation of repentance and faith (in the Protestant sense of faith) is required; only the negative one of the absence of the bar. It must be remembered that by mortal sin is meant gross delinquency, either existing or intended, as, *e.g.*, either living in adultery or an intention to do so. ‡ That this is the true meaning is plain from the explanation of Gabriel Biel, the last of the great schoolmen. 'Sacraments,' he says, 'are said to confer grace *ex opere operante* (*operantis*) when it is in the way of merit, that is, when the outward reception does not of itself benefit, but over and above this there is required in the receiver an inward good disposition, in proportion to which, after the

* Symb., § 28.

† Another sense of *opus operatum* is found in the schoolmen, viz., the official power of the priest in the mass, as distinguished from the benefits which the *pious* priest may obtain for communicants by his prayers, etc.; which latter may be called *opus operantis*. But this is a secondary sense, and does not need further notice.

‡ Peccatum quod secundum se repugnat dilectioni mortale est ex genere; sive sit contra dilectionem Dei, sicut blasphemia, perjurium, et hujus modi; sive contra dilectionem proximi, sicut homicidium, adulterium, et similia. T. Aqu., P. Sec., Q. lxxxviii., A. 2.

manner of merit of condignity or congruity is the grace given; to such grace nothing is added by the outward rite. But *ex opere operato* means that by the very act of receiving, grace is conferred, unless mortal sin stands in the way; that beyond the outward participation no inward preparation of the heart (*bonus motus*) is necessary.* It is true that, to conceal the obvious inconsistency of this doctrine with Scripture, it was added that, by the sacrament itself, an inward qualification is infused, viz., *fides formata* (faith actuated by love);† but the point at issue is, What is the antecedent condition of sacramental efficacy? or, Is there any condition beyond the absence of mortal sin? and the answer is in the negative. Nor is its unscriptural character disproved by Bellarmine's rejoinder to the Protestant objection, that faith as a condition of beneficial reception is, on the Romish theory, dispensed with; viz., that the Council does make faith a qualification; for the faith meant by it is not the apprehensive faith of Protestantism, laying hold directly, under conviction of sin, on the promise of forgiveness through Christ, but a passive reception of the dogmas of the Church.‡ The Romish doctrine of the *opus operatum* rests on the notion that the sacraments contain in themselves a physical virtue to heal the maladies of our nature as the medicines of the physician possess a power to heal those of the body;§ an apprehensive faith being as little needed in the one case as in the other. The sacraments thus become, not signs of spiritual life already existing or means of spiritual growth, but, by an inherent virtue, the instruments of implanting that life.

§ 91. *Intention of the Minister.*

If the sacraments produce their effect *ex opere operato*, as above explained; in general, no *bonus motus* on the part of the recipient,

* L. iv., Sent. dist., 1, 93. Quoted by J. Gerhard, Loc. xix., c. 7, § 86.

† In sacramentis novæ legis non per se requiritur quod homo se disponat, ergo per ipsum sacramentum disponitur. Peter de Palude. *Ibid.* It will be observed that here two questions are confounded: (1) Does man dispose himself?—to assert which would be Pelagian; (2) Does the sacrament confer the disposition, the latter being supposed not to exist antecedently to reception?

‡ Ipsum Conc. Trid. diserte docet, initium justificationis fieri a fide. De Sac., L. ii., c. 1. Initium, not instrumentum.

§ 'The manner of their' (the sacraments) 'necessity to life supernatural is not in all respects as food unto natural life, because they contain in themselves no vital force or efficacy; they are not physical, but moral instruments of salvation . . . For all receive not the grace of God which receive the sacraments of His grace.' Hooker, E. P., P. v., c. lvii., 4. No one who can write thus accepts the doctrine of the *opus operatum* as taught by the Church of Rome.

in private masses no recipient at all, in infant baptism no conscious one, being required—it is difficult to understand what can remain but a mere rite, destitute of any value in a spiritual point of view, or with no higher significance than the christening of a bell or other inanimate object. To obviate as far as might be this objection, the doctrine of the intention of the minister was devised. The fathers of the Council found themselves, in fact, in a difficulty. That the moral unworthiness of the priest or minister does not hinder the efficacy of the sacraments was admitted on all sides, Protestant as well as Romish: now, if in addition the sacraments work *ex opere operato*, they seem in the celebration to be destitute of any vivifying principle raising them above mechanical acts of ritual. And this in a religion the main characteristic of which is that it is a religion ‘of spirit and of truth’ (John iv. 23). The Protestant escapes the difficulty by transferring the validity of the sacraments from the minister, whether worthy or unworthy, to the recipient; whose faith, the work of the Holy Spirit, is the condition of beneficial reception, and that which communicates life and meaning to the outward act. Questions touching the worthiness of the minister are thus dispensed with. But from this mode of explanation the Romanist is shut out by his doctrine of the *opus operatum*. Nothing remained for the Council, in order to secure to some extent the spiritual nature of the sacraments, but to attach to the priest an inward qualification, however inferior in nature to a believing reception; he must, at least, intend to do what the Church intends. Thus he became not only, by virtue of the impressed character, the indispensable consecrator of the Eucharist, but the depositary also of whatever preparation of the heart was still supposed necessary. The intention of the priest stands for the repentance and faith of the communicants. It is to the credit of Bellarmine, and some of his successors, that they endeavoured to soften down the scholastic doctrine of the *opus operatum*, and to present it in a more Scriptural form;* but whether in so doing they have delineated it in its real spirit may be a question.

* *Voluntas, fides, et pœnitentia in suscipiente adulto necessario requiruntur, ut dispositiones ex parte subjecti, non ut causæ activæ, non enim fides et pœnitentia efficiunt gratiam sacramentalem, neque dant efficaciam sacramenti, sed solum tollunt obstacula, ne sacramenta suam efficaciam exercere possent.* Bellarm., *De Sac.*, ii. 1. Here the negative preparation of removing the obex or impediment passes over into the positive one of desire, faith, and repentance, as, indeed, it must always do if it is to be a real preparation; but the tone of the Canons of Trent is different.

§ 92. *Effect of the Sacraments.*

It has been a point of controversy whether the sacraments convey a special grace, different *in kind* from ordinary, and which, as a rule, cannot be obtained except through the sacraments. The question must be narrowed by setting aside what is admitted by all Christians. All agree that the sacraments are visible signs of church-membership; not until a catechumen is baptized is he a member of the Church, and not until he receives the Holy Communion is he a full member thereof. That they symbolize the two leading truths of the Gospel, regeneration by the Holy Spirit and the life of faith in the atonement, is beyond doubt. And, further, that they make over to individuals the Spiritual blessings which the Word proposes generally is not disputed. But the question remains whether a special *inward* grace is attached to each sacrament, a grace *sui generis*. By the schoolmen two effects of this kind are alleged; sacramental grace, and the impressed character; the former belonging to all the seven sacraments, the latter to three only. Some remarks have been already made on the impressed character (§ 88); to which the following may be added. It is evident that it is not the same with sacramental grace, since only three sacraments convey it.* The character is defined as 'an emanation from the priesthood of Christ, by virtue of which the faithful are qualified for certain acts of Divine service (*cultus*, etc.), and are distinguished from others upon whom it is not impressed.† It is of the nature of an internal sacrament. For example, in baptism the water is the outward sign (*sacramentum*), and the stamp on the soul (in part) the inward effect (*res sacramenti*); but although this effect is not justifying grace, but of a neutral character, existing equally in the faithful receiver and in the insincere (*fictus*), yet it is itself a kind of sacrament, that is, an *inward* sign of qualification for the discharge of certain ecclesiastical acts. Justification (infused) is the grace, or *res*, of the whole sacrament, of water and the impressed

* The distinction is not carefully observed in an otherwise valuable work, Mozley's 'Baptismal Controversy.' 'The promise of baptismal grace given at baptism, on conditions not at present fulfilled,' is described (chap. iii.) as a sacramental effect which invariably takes place, whatever the condition of the recipient, and the title of the chapter is 'The Baptismal Character.' But the true baptismal character is not the grace of baptism or regeneration, but a stamp on the soul for the discharge of special functions. Baptism confers it, but not the Eucharist, which of itself distinguishes it from sacramental grace. The 'character' of Augustine is simply the outward administration of the sacrament of baptism, which, according to that father, is not to be repeated in the case of heretics or schismatics coming over to the Church. This was developed into the 'character' of the schoolmen.

† T. Aqu., P. iii., Q. lxiii., A. 5.

character together. The character is indelible, and this is the ground on which it is maintained that baptism cannot be repeated; whereas the true order of things is that since baptism, as corresponding to natural birth, cannot be repeated, therefore the character is indelible.* The sacramental grace is a different thing: it is an effect of all the sacraments, which are said to 'contain' it, that is, to convey it *ex opere operato*. But, equally with the impressed character, it is morally neutral in nature, that is, it is not, nor is it a pledge of, *sanctifying* grace. The reasoning of T. Aquinas plainly proceeds on this supposition. He supposes a person to possess ordinary sanctifying grace, and, moreover, various gifts of grace; and (such is his argument) since these may be present antecedently to the sacrament, if the latter conferred no special grace, it might be dispensed with altogether.† Sacramental grace, then, is something different in kind from ordinary; a grace which, in the regular course of things, comes only through the sacrament; a grace which, since it is expressly distinguished from *gratia gratum faciens*, is morally indifferent. What, then, is it? Obviously no easy question to answer; which may be the reason why neither the Council nor its Catechism alludes to the subject. T. Aquinas lays it down that grace considered in itself affects the essence of the soul; considered as gifts and virtues, it directs the powers of the soul to their proper objects; and considered as sacramental grace, it crowns the whole with something peculiar to itself, so that it stands to gifts and virtues in the same relation as these do to grace *secundum se*.‡ But what the 'something' is; what the special effect is of which sacramental grace is the cause; he does not explain.

The Protestant churches reject not only five of the seven Romish sacraments, but the whole doctrine of the impressed character. Möhler, the most adroit champion of his church in modern times, passes over the subject *sicco pede*. No trace of it can be found in Scripture. Bellarmine endeavours to account for this by remarking, that since the knowledge of grace is more important than the knowledge of the impressed character, it is no wonder that Scripture is comparatively silent on the latter topic.

* 'How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter the second time into his mother's womb and be born?' John iii. 4. The Canon of Trent adopts the scholastic theory: 'In three sacraments there is impressed on the soul a character, whence they cannot be repeated.' Sess. vii., Can. 9.

† P. iii., Q. lxii., A. 2. The question occurs, How came the ordinary grace and the extraordinary gifts into existence, irrespectively of the sacraments? Involuntarily Thomas seems compelled to admit the quasi-sacramental operation of the Word, which is the means of grace preparing the way for the sacrament.

‡ *Gratia sacramentalis addit super gratiam communiter dictam, et super virtutes et dona.* P. iii., Q. lxii., A. 2.

In fact, he can find only three passages which seem to bear upon it. St. Paul tells the Corinthians that God had 'sealed them, and given the earnest of the Spirit in their hearts' (2 Cor. i. 22); and he uses the same figure in Ephes. i. 13, and iv. 30. It is needless to observe that by the sealing or the earnest of the Spirit is meant, not a sacramental effect, but, what the same Apostle elsewhere describes as the witness of the Spirit, that we are the children of God, whereby we cry, 'Abba, Father' (Rom. viii. 15, 16),* and which is never possessed apart from sanctifying grace. 'Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption'; this surely implies something different from a stamp on the soul, of which the subject is unconscious, and which has no necessary connection with moral renovation.

As regards sacramental grace, it is not easy to form a clear notion of it. An esteemed writer of our Church, in a work on baptism, devotes several chapters to prove that in Scripture, in the Fathers, and in the schoolmen; to say nothing of the divines of the Reformation; regeneration implies actual and not merely potential goodness; a state as well as a relation; one of real, however imperfect, holiness.† Nothing can be more cogent than his reasoning, more decisive than the authorities on which he relies. Regeneration, in its Scriptural sense, is the union of conversion and justification; and is inconsistent with the dominion of sin in the heart or life. But the same writer speaks of regeneration as 'the grace of baptism' (chap. iii.), as 'the *res sacramenti* of baptism' (chap. iv.), as 'unquestionably the grace of baptism' (note 8). Does he, then, mean that the actual goodness which he had just proved regeneration to involve is by baptism infused into the baptized person, who was previously destitute of it? But surely the repentance and faith which are the necessary conditions of an adult baptism, the normal one of Scripture, are also the essential elements of moral regeneration, regeneration as a state of actual goodness; and since they exist antecedently to baptism, they cannot be the special grace of it. Thus, the writer, to be consistent with himself, can only understand by 'the grace of baptism' a mystical grace, undefinable except as a something superadded to ordinary grace, which, as we have seen, is the description that T. Aquinas gives of it. No such notion appears in our Article on baptism. By this sacrament they who receive it rightly 'are grafted into the Church; the promises of forgive-

* If, indeed, the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, communicated by the laying on of the Apostles' hands, be not rather meant. 'In whom after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy spirit of promise' (Ephes. i. 13. Comp. Acts x. 45).

† Mozley, Bapt. Cont., chaps. v.-xi.

ness of sin and of our adoption to be the sons of God are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God'; but no mention is made of a special grace conveyed by it. That existing faith is confirmed, and existing grace increased, is a different mode of expression from saying that a new and peculiar grace is the effect of the sacrament. Nor does Scripture give countenance to the notion. In fact, the Holy Ghost, the Author and Giver of all spiritual grace, is seldom mentioned in direct connection with either baptism or the Lord's Supper. That the worthy reception of these sacraments depends upon a preliminary work of the Holy Spirit, and is accompanied with further measures of His grace, is unquestionable; but wherever a distinct gift is mentioned, it is in connection with the laying on of the Apostles' hands. 'Repent,' says Peter, 'and be baptized, and' (afterwards) 'ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost' (Acts ii. 38). Of the disciples of Samaria it is said that 'the Holy Ghost was not yet fallen upon them; only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus' (*Ibid.*, viii. 16). Although in John iii. 5 it is said that a man must be born both of water and the Spirit, it is not said that the latter is the invariable accompaniment or consequence of the former.* As regards the Eucharist, neither do the words of institution, nor any subsequent allusion to this sacrament, mention a special spiritual gift or grace of the Holy Ghost, as connected with it. 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ; the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?' (1 Cor. x. 16); however these words may be interpreted, they are not applicable to a *gift of grace*, to which physical conceptions are foreign. Let it be repeated that the question before us is not whether a spiritual blessing may not be expected from a devout reception of the sacraments; who denies this? We may rest assured that any ordinances of which Christ directly is the Author must be channels of grace. We must fear that they who from prejudice, or worse motives, neglect these appointed means of grace, deprive themselves, to what extent we know not, of what Christ intended for them. The present question is a very limited one; whether some undefined grace, different *in kind* from ordinary, is or is not attached to the sacraments?

* No inference to the contrary is to be drawn from the absence of the article (ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος). See Westcott *in loc.* ὕδατος could not admit an article (Comp. John i. 26, 33), and therefore Πνεύματος is without one. In ver. 6 Πνεύματος has the article because it stands alone.

§ 93. Circumcision and the Passover.

The Council of Trent pronounces an anathema on those who hold that the sacraments of 'the new law,' or the Gospel, differ from those of the old, only in respect of the external rite; or, to put it otherwise, who deny that a difference exists in the mode of their operation. This difference, according to the Council, is, that the former produce their effect *ex opere operato*, the only condition being the absence of mortal sin, while the latter work *ex opere operantis*, in proportion to the faith and devotion of the receiver.* The anathema is directed against the Protestant theologians, who, for the most part, place circumcision and the Passover on a level with baptism and the Eucharist, both as regards the inward qualifications required, and the spiritual blessings attached; differing only in the visible signs, and in the object to which they refer, in the case of the former a promised Saviour, in that of the latter a Saviour actually come. That each covenant had its sacraments, in the strict sense of the word, is on either side assumed. And by Protestants circumcision and the Passover are held to be sacraments because they belonged to a dispensation, and were not merely occasional tokens such as the fleece of Gideon, or the sun-dial of Ahaz; and, further, to a remedial dispensation, having a reference, though under the form of type and prophecy, to the future salvation of Christ. The correspondence, indeed, of these legal appointments to the Christian sacraments is obvious; of circumcision to baptism as being an initiatory rite introducing to the privileges of the Mosaic covenant, as baptism is the door into the Church visible; of the Passover to the Lord's Supper, as being a perpetual commemoration of redemption from Egyptian bondage, as the Lord's Supper is a perpetual commemoration of redemption from spiritual bondage. The law, therefore, had its sacraments, and yet they may differ from those of the Gospel, as the legal dispensation itself differs from the Christian.

The distinction, indeed, which the Council of Trent draws between the inward qualification in either case required (*ex opere operantis* and *ex opere operato*) is not tenable. Circumcision as the sign of the covenant with Abraham, previously to the giving of the law, was a token of the Divine approbation of the patriarch's faith and obedience, exercised under difficult circumstances; the acceptance, or the counting righteous, of which it was the seal, implied no mere absence of mortal sin, but positive pious dispositions, such as operative reliance on the promise; and this is

* Sess. vii., Can. 2.

precisely the condition on which the Christian sacraments are effectual, so far as they are effectual, to salvation. The rite was afterwards incorporated into the Mosaic law as a token of the national covenant with Jehovah, but there is no reason to suppose that its original office was thereby affected. It still remained the sacrament of faith in the promises of God, the seal of justification by faith, and the symbol of what the Jew ought to be and what he was, so far as he was of the spiritual seed of Abraham; for 'he is not a Jew, which is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew which is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit' (Rom. ii. 29). And so as regards the Passover. Appointed in Egypt, it was continued under the law, in perpetual memory of a deliverance effected by God Himself, under the shelter of blood sprinkled, and signalized by the destruction of the people's foes. Grateful remembrance of these mercies, a sentiment of fraternal union and love, and possibly the dim hope of a future redemption founded on better promises, formed, we may suppose, the conditions of an acceptable celebration of the feast; as they do of a worthy reception of the Eucharist. It is one thing, however, to reject the distinctions of the schools, and another to assert the identity of the legal and the Christian sacraments. Not to speak of the difference of outward sign, which excluded a moiety of mankind from one of the sacraments of the law, the object was not the same in either case, or only the same as type and antitype are the same; and it is going beyond what is written to describe either circumcision or the Passover as channels of grace. Yet such is the common language of divines. According to J. Gerhard, circumcision equally with baptism had a promise of grace, of which the proof alleged is Gen. xvii. 7, 'I will establish My covenant between Me and thee, to be a God unto thee and to thy seed after thee.' The meaning, he says, of this promise is, I will forgive you your sins, receive you unto the adoption of sons, give you the Holy Spirit, raise you from the dead to eternal life. 'The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head' (Gen. iii. 15); 'In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed' (*Ibid.*, xxii. 18)—here, he continues, we have the same justifying God, the same justification, the same promise of grace, the same faith, the same righteousness, the same salvation, in Christ and through Christ, in the Old as in the New Testament; only promised in the former, exhibited in the latter. 'God will circumcise thine heart and the heart of thy seed' (Deut. xxx. 6)—he here finds the doctrine of regeneration, and even the *fides infantum* of the Lutheran Church: 'as baptism is the means of regeneration and salvation, so also is circumcision. But "thy

seed" means thy infants; whence we see that not only adults but infants received by circumcision remission of original sin, and the implantation of faith.' As regards the Passover, he quotes no passages, and for the best of reasons, because he could find none. Assertion takes the place of proof: 'The passover was not only a type of Christ, but also a confirmation of the Divine promise of a Redeemer, a guide to the spiritual feeding on Christ, and consequently a salutary sacrament, whereby the faith of the Israelites was strengthened, and the benefits of Christ applied to believers. Therefore the sacraments of the Old Testament were efficacious means of spiritual benefits bestowed on believers.* Thus does this eminent theologian persuade himself, and attempt to persuade his readers, that the Gospel was revealed and understood even in the earlier times of the Jewish dispensation, and not merely that the ancient Fathers did not look only for transitory promises, which may be quite true, but that little remained for the final revelation of Christ by the Holy Spirit to disclose.

Such errors might have been avoided had he and his followers in modern times borne in mind their own correct maxim, that the Mosaic economy had for its subject a Saviour promised, while the Gospel testifies of a Saviour come. For what does this amount to? That during the preparatory dispensation the great Atonement was not an accomplished fact; that the Holy Ghost was not yet given as the fruit of Christ's ascension (John vii. 39); that the resurrection of the body had as yet no positive pledge. Could it be expected that the *revelation* of these Gospel facts, certain, indeed, in the counsels of God, but not yet accomplished, should be otherwise than fragmentary and incomplete? So it was, in fact. It proceeded by gradual stages; 'in many ways'; *e.g.*, by type and prophecy (πολυτρόπως); in many partitions (πολυμέρως); as Divine wisdom thought proper to impart it (Heb. i. 1). It grew in fulness and clearness *pari passu* with the approach of the actual event. It is quite true that since the fall of man there has been no remission of sin except through Christ: He is the Lamb of God, 'slain from the foundation of the world' in the Divine purpose (Rev. xiii. 8): this atonement was ever present to the mind of God, and availed, before it was actually made, for the justification of the ancient believers. The glory of the cross shed its rays backwards as well as forwards. It is also true that the Holy Spirit must have been operative wherever there were saints of God, whether patriarchs or apostles, for without His influence no true sanctification has ever existed. But anticipation is not fulfilment, and typical or prophetic adumbrations are not explicit revelation. The distinct offices of the Second and Third

* Loc. xix., §§ 64-69.

Persons of the Holy Trinity could not be clearly enunciated until the doctrine of the Trinity had been laid as a foundation; which was not the case, at least explicitly, until the advent of the Saviour. The mistake, a natural one, of many Christian writers is that of unconsciously transferring *their* knowledge of the scheme of redemption to the Jews under the Mosaic law, and even to the first ages of the world. It is forgotten that although *hints* of a Redeemer were vouchsafed, and directly after the fall; and the leading ideas of redemption, atonement by sacrifice, and a future gift of regeneration, were prefigured in the ceremonial law, and still more explicitly announced in prophecy; the knowledge thus imparted fell vastly short of what every catechumen in the Christian Church is expected to possess. A greater among the ancient saints, both as regards knowledge and sanctity, had not arisen than John the Baptist; yet, on the testimony of Christ Himself the least in the kingdom of heaven (the new dispensation) is greater than he (Matt. xi. 11). In the caskets of the law and prophecy there were hidden treasures of spiritual knowledge, but the key was wanting to open them, and the Holy Ghost alone could, and in due time did, furnish the key. That the passages adduced by J. Gerhard are insufficient for his purpose is obvious. 'The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head'—in this prophecy, the first link of the chain, some one in human nature is promised Who, at the cost of personal suffering, should destroy the power of the serpent; but who He should be, and how He should reverse the effects of the fall, is not revealed; to say nothing of the mysteries of His Person, His atonement, and His resurrection from the dead. 'I will establish My covenant with thee, to be a God unto thee and to thy seed'—to Abraham an assurance is here given that God would stand in some special relation to him and his posterity; further than this the words do not carry us. 'I will circumcise thine heart and the heart of thy seed'—Israel, afflicted for its sins and repentant, is consoled with the promise of a more effectual Agent of renovation than the law of Moses could supply, a renovation of which circumcision was the figure; the other details are due to the pious fancy of the commentator. 'Abraham rejoiced to see My day, and he saw it and was glad' (John viii. 56); that some special revelation concerning the promised Saviour was vouchsafed to the Patriarch may be inferred from our Lord's words, whether it were a disclosure of the typical import of the commanded sacrifice of Isaac, or given on some other occasion; but the point is that no record of it is contained in the Book of Genesis: whatever it was, it was not incorporated into the public documents of the Church; it formed no addition to the existing stock of revealed

knowledge; and, in fact, the memory of it had perished until the authoritative declaration of Christ made it known.* In like manner, the inference which Christ drew from Exod. iii. 6, 'I am the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,' that there is a resurrection from the dead, however cogent it may be, when pointed out as it was by Christ, is no proof that it was so understood by Moses to whom the words were originally addressed; it is plain, indeed, that not even by the Jews of our Lord's time was the truth latent in them perceived. Thus was the scheme of salvation gradually unfolded, in separate portions, as the ages advanced towards the fulfilment of the first promise in Gen. iii. 15; in which, indeed, all was implicitly contained, but not wrought out into particulars. Nor is this any disparagement to the faith and piety of the ancient believers. Their faith in the immediate temporal promises was the same *in kind* as the faith of the Christian believer which appropriates the Gospel promises; for it is not clearness of knowledge but the state of the heart that is of value in the sight of God. As a profound writer remarks, 'When it was said to Abraham, "I am thy shield and thy exceeding great reward," that general promise of the Divine favour was the sufficient bond and motive of obligation. The duty was perfect, though the Patriarch knew not the nature, or the manner, of the retribution secured to him.† But more than this; the Jew was not left without intimations that might well lead a reflective mind beyond Canaan, and the law under which he was placed. 'In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed'—if Philo and his school had pondered more deeply the import of this promise, they would never have supposed that it could be fulfilled by the submission of all nations to the law of Moses. To what purpose, the pious Jew might ask, was this complicated system of sacrifice and purification established? It must surely point to something beyond itself. In a word, the surmises and hopes of the ancient believer were, far from being discouraged, stimulated by the law and prophecy combined. Still, they remained, for the most part, surmises and hopes.‡

To apply these remarks to the subject before us—circumcision was the sacrament of Abraham's faith, but we cannot say that the *object* of his faith was explicitly Christ; nor does St. Paul say so when using the passage in Genesis to illustrate his argument on justification. Herein it differs from Christian baptism. The

* The announcement of 'the day' of Christ—that is, of Christ's first coming—may have been made to Abraham in Hades: if so, the fact could have been revealed only by Christ. See § 109.

† Davison on Prophecy, Disc. 4.

‡ When our Lord declared to Martha, 'I am the resurrection and the life' (John xi. 25), He revealed what cannot be found in the Old Testament—not even in Daniel xii. 2.

same remark applies to the Passover. That the pious Jew in celebrating it had Christ and His atonement before his mind as distinctly as the Christian has in the Eucharist, is not told us in Scripture. Neither is it declared that either circumcision or the passover were channels of grace; further than that all acts of obedience to the Divine command must be supposed to bring a blessing with them. The grace of the Holy Spirit was not a purchased and covenanted gift of the Jewish dispensation. On still less evidence does the opinion, sometimes advanced, rest, that the sacraments of the law were *types* of the Christian. Scripture does not warrant the assertion. Circumcision and baptism correspond as initiatory rites; but that the former is related to the latter as type to anti-type, or that baptism has taken the place of circumcision, we are not told. Col. ii. 11, 12, the passage usually quoted to prove that baptism is Christian circumcision, hardly bears out the conclusion. 'You are circumcised,' the Apostle says, 'with the circumcision made without hands'; that is, with an inward, spiritual circumcision, of which the Jewish rite was a figure; 'in putting off,' he continues, 'the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ,' by the sanctifying grace of the Holy Spirit. In proof of this, and not as drawing a parallel between the two ordinances, he reminds his readers, as he does in Rom. vi., of the import of their baptism, a dying unto sin and a rising again to a new life. Baptism is a manual act, though not of the same kind as circumcision, and could hardly be described as 'a circumcision made without hands.'

§ 94. *Baptism.*

After His resurrection, and immediately before His ascension, our Lord instituted the initiatory sacrament of the Church, in the command given to the eleven Apostles to make disciples from all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and when thus incorporated into visible Christian societies, teaching them to observe whatever He had commanded (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20). The order then was this: by the preaching of the Word men were to be brought to repentance and the acknowledgment of Jesus as the promised Saviour, just as Christ had gathered to Himself out of the Jewish people a company of disciples (*μαθηταί*), before either the Christian Church or sacraments existed; the converts thus made were to receive Christian baptism, and then to be placed under the ministry of the same Word, but not only as it proclaims the gospel, but as it explains the mysteries, privileges, and duties of

the new covenant.* From the words of Christ it is obvious that baptism is more than a sign of Christian profession, and stands on a different footing from a mere ecclesiastical, or even apostolic, ordinance. Much, as regards worship and polity, was left to the Apostles to supply as need required, and their appointments are, if not absolutely, yet relatively, binding on the Church of all ages; but two ordinances owe their institution to Christ Himself, and this alone places them in a category of their own. Nor does the language He uses in the institution of baptism convey the idea of its being a sign, or tessera, of Christian fellowship (though this doubtless is one of its uses), but rather of its being a means of introducing the recipient into new relations towards God, with corresponding duties. To be baptized into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost expresses an advance from Jewish monotheism to the Trinitarian revelation of God, as the God of redemption; and further, it implies fellowship with the triune God, and vows of service and obedience to Him. The simpler form which we find in the Book of Acts, baptized into the name, or on the foundation of the name (*ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι*) of the Lord Jesus,† is equivalent in sense to the fuller, and may have been employed by the Apostles; but the Church has preferred to use Christ's own words in the celebration of the sacrament. Brought thus into new relations towards the Holy Trinity, the baptized person at the same time becomes a recognised member of the Christian Church; not merely of the local society from which he has received the sacrament, but of the Church universal; for it is the whole body of Christ that properly is the temple of the Holy Ghost; as there is but 'one Lord, one faith, one God and Father of all,' so there is but 'one baptism of the Spirit,' of which the one visible sacrament is the sign (Ephes. iv. 4). His position now is a different one from that which he occupied as a catechumen. He is admitted to the means of grace of which the Church is the dispenser, and to the support and encouragement which the Christian society, with its variety of spiritual gifts, is calculated and is intended to furnish. Baptism is the first and principal means by which the invisible Church becomes visible. Regeneration, as implying a change of heart, is presupposed in every complete baptism, but not until

* Not 'make disciples *by* baptizing and teaching' (Olshausen, Alford, and others), but first 'make disciples' by the preaching of the Word, then baptize, and then teach them. Repentance, and faith in Jesus as the Messiah, made Jews or heathens disciples; baptism introduces these disciples into new relations towards the Holy Trinity; instruction explains and enforces the duties thence resulting. The participles express not the instruments, but the objects, of discipleship, what the latter ought to lead to.

† That is, on the admission of Christ's claim to be the Messiah.

the sacrament is received, is the believer, in the sight of man, a citizen of the new Jerusalem, as the Jew was not, before circumcision, formally initiated into the old covenant. Thus viewed, baptism is the last and crowning work of the Church in its missionary capacity. By the ministry of the Word the catechumen is conducted through the preliminary stages of conversion, etc.; but the Divine signature, or seal, that the work has advanced to an individual appropriation of Christ, that the offers of mercy have been *accepted*, is still wanting, and the want is supplied by this ordinance of Christ. And hence it is, that the reception of it is regarded by Jews and heathens, and naturally so, as the overt act of becoming a Christian. The mere hearer, or inquirer, or even catechumen, is considered as not having yet passed the Rubicon; but when he proceeds to baptism, the final decision is supposed to have taken place, and the opposition and persecution, which they who confess Christ before men are taught to expect (Matt. x. 34-6), commence.

These remarks may explain why in Scripture baptism, not less than the Word, is connected with regeneration. Some of the passages, indeed, usually quoted in this connection, cannot be considered decisive. That John iii. 5 directly refers to Christian baptism is no more clear than that John vi. 53 directly refers to the Lord's Supper; it is hardly consistent with the manner or object of our Lord's teaching that He should expound the nature of sacraments before they were instituted.* Nor can it be established that in every passage in which the words baptism, or baptized, occur, they necessarily mean external baptism; for there is no doubt that they are used figuratively to signify participation in the element which is the subject of the statement. Thus when Christ announced to James and John that with the baptism—that He was baptized with they should be baptized (Mark x. 39), He can hardly be supposed to refer either to John's baptism or to the Christian sacrament, but to His own impending sufferings, of which these disciples should have a share. 'John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence' (Acts i. 5); the fulfilment of the promise proves that 'baptized' is to be taken figuratively, for no baptism with water is mentioned in connection with the effusion

* 'I hold it for a most infallible rule in exposition of Holy Scripture that where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst.' Hooker, E. P., v. 59. This rule requires limitation. The literal construction may 'stand'—that is, be admissible—and yet it may not be the best. They no doubt err who deny that Christ in John iii. 5 could have alluded to baptism, but it does not follow that other interpretations may not be preferable. See Lücke, on this passage.

of the Holy Ghost which took place on the Day of Pentecost.* There is no reason, however, to question an allusion to baptism, as the sacrament of regeneration, in some passages, such as Ephes. v. 26, Tit. iii. 5, and perhaps John iii. 5. For it is the sacrament of regeneration, as the Eucharist is the sacrament of the atonement; it is the instrument of our formally 'putting on Christ' (Gal. iii. 27), of our being figuratively 'buried with Christ' to a death unto sin, and figuratively rising with Him to newness of life (Rom. vi. 4); of our being invested with the privileges of Christian citizenship; of our being visibly sealed in anticipation of the future inheritance. Enough surely to account for the language of Scripture on the subject. Only let it be remembered that the sacrament depends on the Word for its explanation, not the Word on the sacrament; and that to the Word more explicitly than to the sacrament is ascribed regeneration. It is not merely that the Word precedes, and prepares for, the reception of baptism in and by which the special grace of regeneration is supposed to be conferred; but that this grace itself is ascribed to the Word. 'Of His own will,' says St. James, 'begat He us with the word of truth' (chap. i. 18); and St. Peter reminds Christians that they were 'born again, not with corruptible seed but incorruptible, by the Word of God which liveth and abideth for ever' (1 Peter i. 23). And how could it be otherwise, when, in its full sense, regeneration implies a moral change, and such changes can only be wrought by means which appeal to the conscience through the understanding? As to the notion that by baptism we are brought into mystical union with Christ in His glorified body, and that this is the special grace of regeneration, it can plead no warranty of Scripture. Indeed, it is almost unintelligible. It can be defended only on the supposition that the baptismal water is by the Holy Ghost united mystically with Christ's glorified body, as the bread and wine are alleged to be in the other sacrament; and to this length theological speculation has not as yet advanced. That there is a presence of Christ in this sacrament, as in all means of grace, is unquestionable; but where is the *res sacramenti*, corresponding to the body and blood of the Eucharist, to be here found? Such expressions as the figurative one, 'buried with Christ' (by baptismal immersion), furnish no ground for the theory.

* That the descent of the Holy Ghost was accompanied by visible signs, the rushing mighty wind and the cloven tongues of fire, has no bearing upon the present question; viz., whether the word 'baptism' does not often in the New Testament bear a figurative sense. It may be observed that the three-fold baptism of theologians—*aquæ*, *sanguinis*, *flaminis*—presents an instance of this figurative usage; for the *baptismus flaminis* is nothing but the grace of the Holy Spirit, and it is expressly distinguished from *baptismus aquæ*. See T. Aqu., P. iii., Q. lxvi., A. 12.

In common with the Eucharist, baptism serves the purpose of appropriating to the individual what the Word propounds only generally. The promises of Scripture are universal, and necessarily so; and though faith reduces them into saving possession, yet both the Church and the individual need something further: the Church a visible proof that the candidate for membership has personally apprehended Christ, the individual that forgiveness of sin is made over *to himself* as distinguished from others. It is one thing to say, Christ has died for sinners, and another to say, Christ has died for me. Since to the Church the dispensing of the sacraments is committed, and the Church cannot read the heart, and must take men at their profession, the outward reception of either sacrament is no positive proof that the grace thereof, whatever it be, is received; if Christ were to administer the sacraments directly, no mistakes would be made; baptism would always be a sure proof of regeneration, the Eucharist of abiding in Christ by faith; administered by fallible men, who can only *presume* on the existence of the necessary qualifications, the proof is only presumptive, and the language of charity, with the necessary reservations, is the only language that is appropriate.

The visible element, to be used at baptism, is not mentioned in the words of institution; whence we infer that our Lord adopted a well-known symbol, and transferred it to a Christian use. That the Apostles understood that water was to be used is plain from the instances in the book of Acts, such as that of the eunuch (x. 47); but on what previously existing usages its employment was founded has been a question. The baptism of proselytes to the Jewish religion, which used formerly to be insisted on,* has had so much uncertainty thrown upon its date by the researches of later times that it is hardly safe to allege it: we have no clear evidence that it existed in the time of Christ, nor indeed before the fourth century of the Christian era. But John's baptism, and its relation to the Gospel, are facts of Scripture; and it may be fairly argued that Christian baptism is, with the necessary modifications, an adaptation of this earlier ordinance; especially since the disciples of Christ, doubtless by the command, or under the sanction, of their Master, baptized (John iv. 1, 2), and this baptism must be regarded as substantially of the same character as that of John. But when an identity between John's and Christian baptism is asserted,† the evidence does not support the

* See Wall, i., p. 4.

† The Reformers generally adopt this view. See Chemnitz, Exam. Conc. Trid. De Bapt., on Can. 1; J. Gerhard, Loc. xxi., s. 17; and Calvin, Inst., iv., c. 15. The Council of Trent, on the contrary, anathematizes those who hold it (Sess. vii., Can. 1). The schoolmen, after Augustine, maintain a distinction between the two baptisms. See T. Aqu., P. iii., Q. xxxviii., A. 6, who

assertion. The Baptist's own confession of the inferiority of his mission (Matt. iii. 11), which Christ endorses (*Ibid.*, xi. 11); and particularly the circumstance mentioned in Acts xix., that certain disciples who had only received John's baptism were, by Paul's command, baptized in the name of Christ; sufficiently prove the contrary. According to St. Paul, John's baptism implied no mention of the Holy Ghost; from which it may be inferred that the form prescribed in Matt. xxviii. 19 was in use at that time, though the fact is not mentioned; and, further, that baptism in the name of the Holy Trinity was different from a baptism unto repentance. As to spiritual gifts, absent in the one and conveyed by the other, the narrative is silent.

§ 95. *Infant Baptism.*

At the time of the Reformation the connection of the Anabaptists with political movements of doubtful tendency raised a strong prejudice against this sect, and prevented an impartial discussion of the principal tenet from which it took its name. Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and the other leaders were anxious to dissociate themselves from men whose opinions on social and political questions seemed to reflect discredit on the movement; and this they thought could not be better accomplished than by denouncing in no measured terms those who entertained doubts respecting the validity, or apostolicity, of infant baptism. Moreover, that infants could not be saved without baptism, was an accepted conclusion, dating from Augustine's day.* The subject, therefore, did not at that time receive an unbiased investigation; and it would be too much to say that the Protestant theologians of the following century supply the want. It is only in later times that the difficulties connected with the subject have been candidly recognised.

The general result of modern research is, that no satisfactory proof of the prevalence of infant baptism in the Apostolic age can be gathered from Scripture. The traditionary arguments are either insufficient, or they seem to assume what has to be proved. *Assuming* that infant baptism then prevailed, it is not difficult to discover grounds for or allusions to it; such as the command of Christ to baptize all nations, for infants (it is urged) are a part of nations; the fact being that our Lord was speaking not of the proper *subjects* of baptism but of the duty of gathering all men,

decides that they who had been baptized by John needed Christian baptism also. Whether the Apostles themselves received Christian baptism, sub judice lis est.

* *Damnante Anabaptistas qui improbant baptismum puerorum, et affirmant pueros sine baptismo salvos fieri. Conf. Aug., ix.*

Gentiles as well as Jews, into the Church, and that the command to teach such converts is inconsistent with their being infants. Or St. Peter's words (Acts ii. 39), 'the promise is to you and your children,' in which a trace of infant baptism has been discovered;* whereas the context proves that the promise referred to (Joel ii. 28) is that of remission of sin and the gift of the Holy Ghost, and, moreover, 'you and your children,' according to Old Testament usage, can only mean, you and your posterity. The baptism of 'households' is appealed to (Acts xvi. 15; 1 Cor. i. 16); but, unfortunately for the argument, the term household is similarly used in passages which can by no possibility be applied to infants; as when the 'house of Stephanas' (the very 'household' which St. Paul baptized) is said to have addicted themselves to the 'ministry of the saints' (1 Cor. xvi. 15), and the jailer of Philippi to have believed 'with all his house' (Acts xvi. 34).† Wall lays great stress on 1 Cor. vii. 14, arguing that the word *ἅγια*, there applied to children, must imply baptism, as, indeed, it usually does in St. Paul's salutations to the churches. In this passage, however, it can hardly do so, since the very same word, in its verbal form, is used of the unbelieving husband or wife; 'the unbelieving husband is sanctified (*ἁγιάσται*) by the wife'; and no one will contend that an unbelieving adult could have received Christian baptism. In truth, the passage is rather against what it is quoted for; for if these children had been baptized, why should not the Apostle have used the proper word, and thereby strengthened his argument? The unbelieving husband was not to be abandoned by the believing wife, for as long as they lived together he was under religious influence, which might, it was to be hoped, in time issue in his own conversion; and *a fortiori* the children of the marriage enjoyed this advantage, and were, by providential circumstances, so far *ἅγια*. More than this cannot be inferred from the passage. Nor does history come to our aid. A very learned and candid inquirer can find no express mention of children in connection with baptism before Irenæus (about A.D. 170), whose words are: 'Christ came to save all who by Him are regenerated to God, infants, little ones,' etc.‡ There

* Bp. H. Browne on Art. xxvii.

† Comp. Acts xviii. 8: 'Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue, believed on the Lord with all his house.' The households mentioned were those of persons of substance (Lydia, Crispus, etc.), and probably consisted of slaves or freedmen, who, under the impulse of the conversion of the head of the house, offered themselves for baptism. The Latin word *familia* (the domestic establishment) corresponds to the Greek word *οἶκος* of the New Testament.

‡ Wall, c. 3. An earlier writer, Justin Martyr, is quoted as speaking of 'aged persons' 'who had been made disciples of Christ in their infancy' (Wall, c. 2). His words are, *οἱ ἐκ παιδῶν ἐμαθητεύθησαν*, which do not necessarily imply that they were infants.

is no reason to doubt that by the term 'regenerated' he may have meant baptism, or that infant baptism by that time had gained a footing; but the point at issue is whether it can be discovered in the New Testament, or in the earliest patristic remains. Later on, Tertullian's judgment is well known; dissuading from the practice, on the ground that it is better to wait until young persons could have some knowledge of what they were doing. Now the question is, not whether Tertullian was right in his view, but whether he would have ventured so to advise if it had been in his time a ruled point that infant baptism could be traced to the Apostles. That his discussion of the question shows that infant baptism was then common is a fair inference, and is in itself extremely probable. But it also proves that it was considered an open question. And that this was the case may also be argued from the many instances on record of persons, who, though born of Christian parents (as, *e.g.*, Augustine), were not baptized until of a ripe age. It is unnecessary to refer to later evidence: there is no doubt that in the fifth century pædobaptism had become the normal usage of the Church.

On general grounds of probability it seems doubtful whether the Apostles would at once introduce infant baptism either in the Jewish or the Gentile Churches. As regards the former, it has already been observed (§ 82) that these converts neither considered themselves, nor were they considered by their Jewish brethren, as separatists from the theocracy; but rather as one of the many Jewish sects existing at the time, that one whose peculiar tenet it was that Jesus of Nazareth was the promised Messiah. We may hence infer that the Apostles would not, unless expressly so commanded, interfere with the Divinely-appointed ordinance of circumcision; and, in fact, that the Jewish converts continued to circumcise their children as the law commanded. And then the question arises, would these converts be likely to adopt, or the Apostles to enjoin, in the absence of any command by Christ, another mode of initiating their children into the Abrahamic covenant than that prescribed to the patriarch himself? It must be remembered that the Gospel claimed to be the spiritual fulfilment of the Abrahamic covenant—the covenant of faith (Gal. iii. 6, 7, 17); and that circumcision was the seal of that covenant, appointed to be so, long before the promulgation of the law. The disciples of John were baptized, and the disciples of Christ baptized under their Master's sanction (John iv. 1, 2); but neither of these baptisms was the initiatory rite of a *new dispensation*. That a new dispensation had succeeded to the patriarchal and legal, though announced in the Epistle to the Hebrews, was not placed beyond doubt by any visible interposi-

tion of Providence until the destruction of the temple; that event decided the question for ever. The Apostolic baptism, like that of John, and like that of Christ (probably of a similar character to that of John), was, as far as we read, confined to adults; the reason, it may be presumed, being that while circumcision, the door of entrance into the covenant of Abraham and also into the legal dispensation, continued in force under an express Divine appointment, the Apostles hesitated to supersede it by a modification of adult baptism, which could plead no command of their Master, and which, however natural it may seem to us, may not have seemed so to them, who lived (most of them) under the legal dispensation, who were far from thinking themselves separatists from it, and to whom no signal from heaven was given of its dissolution. The argument, then, that *because* the Apostles were familiar with circumcision they must have baptized infants should be exchanged for another, viz., the production of proof that, *notwithstanding* their familiarity with circumcision, they introduced the baptism of infants. For this reason it is to the Gentile Churches that we must probably look for the first adoption of pædobaptism. But here another difficulty meets us. Pædobaptism presumes that the child will be brought up 'agreeably to this beginning;' and this presumes a certain maturity of Christian knowledge and practice in the parents and sponsors, and in the Church at large in which the child has been born. Hence, it may be a question whether in our missions it would be wise to introduce the practice before the native Churches have given evidence of their fitness for the trust; and this must be a matter of time and experience. The Churches to which St. Paul addressed his Epistles appear (in several instances) to have been, as regards both doctrine and practice, in an imperfect and unsettled condition, as indeed might be expected in converts just gathered in from such cities as Corinth and other ancient communities. They had need to be instructed and set right in many fundamental points before they could be teachers. Heathenish associations clung to them, and produced a strange mixture of what was old and what was new. They were 'babes in Christ,' spiritually quickened indeed, but far removed from spiritual manhood; hardly as yet 'understanding what the will of the Lord' was. To infant Churches in such a condition St. Paul may well have hesitated to entrust baptized infants, to be brought up in the fear and admonition of the Lord, especially where no command of Christ indicated the duty. He may have left the question undetermined, as many other matters of polity and discipline were left, to be settled at a future time, at the discretion of the Church. And so may the other Apostles have acted.

Another circumstance, too, renders this conclusion probable. National Christianity, as distinguished from saving, does not occupy a place in the Apostolical Epistles; for the obvious reason that the state of the world at that time did not admit of such a conception. The existing civil power was a heathen one; the state, in its public religion and in the spirit of its institutions, was heathen; and so the Church appears in the New Testament, not indeed as antagonistic to the powers that were, but as having little to do with them, and as absorbed in her heavenly mission. This, however, was not to continue. The eventual triumph of Christianity over Paganism brought with it a national recognition of the Christian religion; and when the Roman empire broke up, national Churches came into existence. And so, no doubt, it was intended to be. National Christianity is not, indeed, saving, but it is of the highest importance and value. It gives promise that the Church is about to infuse a Christian spirit into the social customs, the institutions, the laws, the government of the nation which, as a nation, has received Christianity; and we have only to compare the standard on these points of Christian nations as compared with heathen to understand how powerful the influence is. In truth, Christianity has a mission for this world as well as for the next. National Christianity is not necessarily saving, but it is the vestibule, the outer court of the temple, to the inner circle which constitutes the true Church, or mystical body of Christ. How short-sighted, then, the policy of those who would destroy this invaluable outwork of the Gospel, under the plea of its being a corruption and inconsistent with the Apostolical model as we find it in the New Testament! The Apostles themselves, had they survived to see it, would have been the first to welcome the addition of national to saving Christianity. That a national religion is in itself not unacceptable to the Most High, we may infer from the instance of the Jewish theocracy, though we must beware of introducing its types and shadows under the Gospel. Now, of all the visible symbols of national Christian faith, infant baptism seems the most suitable and expressive. In this point of view, circumcision, serving the same purpose, would naturally suggest it. Infant baptism, in short, may be regarded as the accompaniment of national Christianity. But it had to bide its time (so we may conclude) until empires and states became Christian empires and states, or the Providential direction of affairs manifestly tended in that direction. We need not, then, wonder that it does not appear in the Apostolic Church, nor attempt to introduce it prematurely into that Church by strained expositions of Scripture. Still less need we wonder that, in due time, it made its appearance, and has, on

the whole, held its place. Scripture is very far, indeed, from discountenancing it; and the Church (as a whole), exercising the discretion which on this as on other points was left to her by her Divine Master, has acted wisely in 'retaining' it.

On the whole, it is consistent with the historical evidence, and with the nature of things, that pædobaptism is of ecclesiastical and not of apostolical origin; growing up gradually in the Church, and justifiable on its own grounds. And this conclusion seems confirmed by the parallel history of infant communion. It should not be forgotten that this, for a long time, prevailed in the Church as extensively as infant baptism, and the arguments in its favour were very similar; and indeed *essentially* they seem to stand on the same footing. It was in use in the Western Church from about A.D. 400 to A.D. 1000, 600 years; and it is practised in the Eastern Church to this day. And yet in the West it has been abandoned, as being merely an ecclesiastical custom, which the Church could abrogate without infringing any apostolical precedent or direction. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the baptism of infants grew up in a similar manner. That it has been retained while the other has fallen into disuse is due not to any difference of Scriptural authority between them, but from intrinsic considerations which are of force in the one case and not in the other. The natural life of an infant, though real, differs materially from that of an adult; and the new birth of the Spirit, though the earnest of spiritual growth, may be conceived of as a germ compared with the future development. But baptism is the sacrament of the new birth, as the Eucharist is of Christian manhood; and here we have at once a distinction between the two sacraments. If regeneration (in a modified sense) may be predicated of infants, it may fairly be argued that baptism is a more appropriate sacrament for them than the Eucharist; and this without approaching the question whether either should be administered to infants. We find, let it be supposed, in the Church the practice prevailing as regards both sacraments, and a debate arises whether this is justifiable; obviously there is more to be said for the retention of infant baptism than for that of infant communion. This, it is true, goes but a little way towards deciding the question; still it clears the way for understanding why when the one practice was given up the other was retained; and also for considerations of a more positive character, such as the following: By an act of Providence a child born in a Christian Church is at once placed in a different position from that of a child born in heathenism; he is placed from his birth under Christian influences, and grows up in an atmosphere of Christianity; if not an election to eternal life, it may well be

called, in a lower sense, an election. The Church acknowledges in such a child the germ of a corrupt nature leading, of itself, to a sinful career ; but also perceives him in possession of spiritual privileges which are intended to, and may issue in, a saving regeneration. Why should she not recognise the fact of Divine favour thus gratuitously bestowed, and interpret it as a warrant for receiving the infant into her fellowship, in faith and hope that in the use of the appointed means he will become a living member of Christ ? Here it is that the Scripture analogies and the statements of Christ, which are of no force to prove that the Apostles practised infant baptism, acquire argumentative value. Circumcision was at first instituted in an adult, but afterwards was extended to infants ; this does not prove that baptism came in place of circumcision, still less that the command in the one case implies a command in the other ; but it does present an analogy which has force. Christ's blessing little children, and declaring that of such is the kingdom of heaven (Mark x. 15, 16), does not prove that He had their baptism in view ; but it does prove that He has a special love towards little children, and is pleased that they should be brought to Him in every way in which they can be brought ; and baptism surely is one way, and in the case of infants the only way, in which they can be visibly brought. Moreover, we may ask the opponents of infant baptism, whether even they can fix empirically the moment of regeneration, or prevent mistakes in adult baptism ; and especially to note the fact that in the Apostolic administration of this sacrament to adults, it was not deferred until unquestionable proofs of the new birth (which only a consistent life of holiness can furnish) were exhibited, but was administered at once on an expression of desire for it (see the various instances in the Book of Acts). To the objection that the children of Christian parents already by birth possess the privilege of adoption, and therefore do not need the sacrament, it may be replied that if they do possess the privilege, the sacrament, the sign and seal of adoption, should not be denied them. The practice of the Baptist churches, in theory at least, keeps the Church perpetually in the state of being just gathered in from heathenism, and puts aside the fact that, besides representing the invisible church, each visible church is a school of training for its younger members, the duties connected with which can only be consistently discharged on the assumption that they are members, however imperfect, of the society. Private instruction may, no doubt, be, and probably is, given in families ; but the Church as such, as represented by its ministers, has no concern with its children, until they apply for baptism. It leads, too, to a depreciation of the sacraments, and to the custom, too

prevalent in the early Church, of putting off the reception of baptism indefinitely: the worshipper is tempted to forget that as long as he is not baptized, though he may attend the ministry of the Word, he is merely in the position of a catechumen, and is not really a member of the Christian Church. On such grounds as these it is better to rely than to put forward assumptions which cannot be sustained, and which, like all weak advocacy, do more injury than benefit to the cause to be defended. And this is the footing on which our Church places the matter. 'The baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable to the institution of Christ' (Art. xxvii.); whatever may be the meaning of 'agreeable to the institution of Christ,'* the language seems purposely to avoid positive statements. And, further, it is not said that infant baptism is to be *introduced* where it is not the usage, but to be *retained* where it is, a moderation of statement which presents a contrast to what has been sometimes written on the subject, particularly by the Lutheran divines. Regeneration implies justification (see § 71), and the dogma that every infant is by baptism regenerate necessarily involves the assumption that he is also in and by the sacrament justified. But how was this to be reconciled with the *articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiæ*, justification by faith? Luther felt the difficulty, and the mode in which he attempted to extricate himself from it furnishes an instructive warning against attempting to be wise above what is written. He did not hesitate to maintain that though infants could not understand the Word preached, yet the Holy Spirit in the act of regenerating them in baptism produces faith in their hearts; and not merely a habit of faith but faith in actual exercise. And this doctrine of the *fides infantum* continued for a long time to be taught by Lutheran writers.†

* It may mean either agreeable to the spirit of the Christian dispensation, or agreeable to the teaching of Christ; e.g., Mark x. 13-16.

† Instar omnium J. Gerhard may be quoted: Sane infantes ex utero matris non afferunt secum fidem ad baptismum; interim tamen Spiritus S. per ipsum baptismi sacramentum fidem in cordibus illorum operatur, per quam *intheſiæ*, remissionis peccatorum et vitæ æternæ, particeps redduntur. Loc. xxi., c. 8, § 220. Further on he attempts a distinction between the faith of infants and that of adults, and at last falls back on the modus inexplicabilis. Bellarmine contents himself with a fides habitualis in infants, a habit as distinguished from an energy: 'Catholicorum sententia est infantes non habere fidem actualem, nec tamen omni fide carere; sed habere fidem habituales' (De Bapt., L. i., c. 10). To this Gerhard replies: 'Bellarminus hanc Spiritus S. in infantibus operationem vocat fidei habitum quem opponit fidei actuali. Sed cum infantes, teste Christo, recipiant regnum celorum, hoc est, gratiam Dei, remissionem peccatorum, et vitam æternam, cum Christum apprehendant ad salutem, non quidem more adultorum sed pro suo captu et modulo nobis inexplicabili; quomodo fidei actus simpliciter et absolute illis denegari poterit? Quomodo otiosus aliquis fidei habitus illis

As if the *salvation* of infants were in peril unless they could be brought under a certain ecclesiastical formula! As if infant regeneration or justification must not mean something different from what these terms signify in the case of an adult.

Infant baptism is a modification of the original ordinance; within the discretion of the Church and on general grounds justifiable; and as such it is an imperfect baptism, and needs a supplement. Confirmation in the reformed churches supplies this need. If this rite be regarded as a quasi-sacrament, conveying an independent grace of its own, infant baptism is left without its proper supplement. It will also be necessary to establish a difference between the two sacraments, as regards the conditions of beneficial reception, which Scripture does not warrant, and which our Church rejects.* Sensible of this imperfection, our Church aims at placing the infant, as far as possible, in the position of an adult. She attributes no inherent efficacy to the sacrament, irrespectively of conditions; but by a legal fiction attempts to supply the conditions. The infant is supposed to profess that he renounces sin and believes in Christ; but he does this through his sureties, whose faith, or the faith of the Church, is treated as if it was his own.† Whence does this arrangement spring but from a feeling that infant baptism, however to be 'retained,' fails to come up, *per se*, to the idea of a complete baptism? It is therefore difficult to understand how Martensen can write: 'Baptism is according to its idea infant baptism. The Church in introducing infant baptism is so far from deviating from the original institution, that she presents baptism precisely in the form which most perfectly corresponds to its idea' (Dog., § 255). In which he is followed by an English commentator on Mark x. 14: 'Not only may infants be brought to Christ, but in

tantummodo tribuendus? (§ 229). Their faith, then, is more than a habit, and less than that of an adult; or, as Melancthon expresses it, '*Spiritus S. per baptismum eis datur, qui efficit novos motus, novas inclinationes ad Deum, pro ipsorum modo.*' Calvin pronounces no opinion on the *fides infantum*; '*in suspensio relinquere malo*' (Inst. iv., c. 16). The Calvinistic divines, as a rule, take other ground: elect infants are sanctified and in covenant from the birth, and in this case baptism is but the seal of this prevenient grace. If infants, it may be asked, have faith sufficient for baptism, why not also for the Eucharist?

* 'What is required in persons to be baptized? Repentance whereby they forsake sin, and faith whereby they steadfastly believe the promises of God made to them in that sacrament.' 'What is required of those who come to the Lord's Supper? To examine themselves whether they repent them truly of their former sins, have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ,' etc. Cat.

† 'Why, then, are infants baptized, when by reason of their tender age they cannot perform them? Because they promise them both by their sureties.' Cat.

order for us who are mature to come to Him, we must cast away all that wherein our maturity has caused us to differ from them, and become like them.' Most true; and now for the application to baptism, concerning which there is no proof that our Lord had it especially in view. 'Not only is infant baptism justified but it is (abstractedly considered, not as to the preparation for it, which from the nature of the case must be exceptional), *the normal pattern of all baptism*; none can enter into the kingdom of God but as an infant. In adult baptism (the exceptional case) we strive to secure that state of simplicity and childlikeness, which in the infant we have ready and undoubted to our hands.* This is not to interpret, but to impose an interpretation on, Scripture.

Since Augustine's time baptism has been generally held to be the remedy for the guilt of original sin; and that Father appealed to the custom of infant-baptism in his time, with great effect, against his Pelagian opponents. These denied, or explained away, the fact of original sin, but did not dispute the propriety of baptizing infants. Why, then, asks Augustine, do you baptize infants? Baptism is for the remission of sin; but since infants have no actual sin, what can they need the sacrament for but original? It was an *argumentum ad hominem* of weight; but it left the question of infant-baptism itself untouched. We can hardly argue that because we practise pædobaptism infants have original sin, and then that because they have original sin they need baptism. The latter fact must be established on other grounds. The particular connection of baptism with original sin is not very clear from Scripture. That a sinful nature is propagated from our first parents is matter of experience; that this implicates infants in something which, for want of a better term, we call guilt is the doctrine of our Church (Art. ix.), and appears to be taught in Scripture, however mysterious it may be, and to our reason unaccountable; but the special relation of baptism to original sin is not so clearly revealed. In the instances of Scripture it is actual sin that is thus remitted.† It may, indeed, be urged that since actual sin springs from original as from a root, both kinds of sin are implied where one is mentioned; and this may be so; still, there is no passage in which original sin and baptism are brought together as disease and remedy. That baptism remits in infants original sin is a hypothesis, not a doctrine.

Such being the state of the evidence on pædobaptism, some

* Alford, *in loc.* Possibly the author means 'the exceptional case' in most Christian churches; but is adult baptism the exceptional case of Scripture?

† 'Repent and be baptized, every one of you, for the remission of sins' (Acts ii. 38). 'Repent, that *your sins* may be blotted out' (*Ibid.*, iii. 9). 'Arise and be baptized, and wash away *thy sins*' (*Ibid.*, xxii. 16).

practical inferences may be drawn. There is no reason why we should not retain it; no reason why the administration should not be accompanied by the language of faith and hope, seeing that we have no reason to doubt that Christ 'favourably allows the charitable work' of thus presenting infants to Him, or to doubt that the prayers of the sponsors and of the congregation on their behalf will be heard; there is nothing, as in the case of an adult fictus, to rebut these presumptions. If we baptize infants at all, why should we not cherish expectations of a spiritual benefit? But when the question is respecting *dogmatic* statements on the effects of infant baptism, our footing becomes less firm. We have no instances in Scripture to reason from; no exposition of the theory of the case; no assertion that what baptism conveys to a believing adult it also conveys to an infant; no explanation how or why conditions required in an adult may in the other case be dispensed with, or how difficulties may be removed. In short, we have no certain data in Scripture on which to build conclusions. Under such circumstances, it seems prudent to abstain from positive statements, as if they were revealed truth, and to content ourselves, as regards the *effects* of infant baptism, with the language of faith, hope, and charity. The controversies which have arisen on this subject are never-ending, for the combatants, for want of premisses to argue from, beat the air. Had this been acknowledged on all sides, and by all parties, the Church might have been spared much profitless theological strife. We know but little about the state of infants, except that they come into the world with a sinful nature. We know not what their regeneration, or justification, is; or rather, what these theological terms mean when applied to them, whether they are to be understood strictly or with modifications. Of one thing, however, we may feel sure, that if infants are removed before the dawn of reason, the atonement of Christ has been in some way applied to them, to ensure their safety. Beyond this, we see through a glass darkly. When the Apostolic origin of infant baptism is itself doubtful, how can we pronounce positively on its effects? On this, as on many other points, Scripture leads us a certain way; and then leaves us to make use of the fragmentary information as best we may.

§ 96. *Eucharist—Institution.*

As a token of continuance in the Church, and of abiding in Christ by faith; as a commemoration of the atonement as the Christian's sole ground of hope; as a visible seal of the promises; and as a pledge and means of Christian union; Christ, shortly before His Passion, appointed the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; to be continually celebrated, as St. Paul tells us, 'until He come

again' (1 Cor. xi. 26). It is the sacrament of spiritual growth, as baptism is the sacrament of spiritual birth.

We possess four accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper: Matt. xxvi. 26-8; Mark xiv. 22-4; Luke xxii. 19, 20; and 1 Cor. xi. 23-26. Of these that of St. Paul is the earliest in date, and appeals to a direct revelation from Christ: 'I have received of the Lord that which I also delivered unto you.' The substance of this communication was that 'The Lord Jesus in the same night that He was betrayed took bread: and when He had given thanks He brake it, and said, Take eat, this is My body which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of Me. After the same manner also He took the cup, when He had supped, saying, This cup is the New Testament in My blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me. For as oft as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew forth the Lord's death till He come.' The points in which St. Luke's account differs from those of the other Evangelists lead to the conclusion that he derived it from St. Paul. St. Matthew and St. Mark omit the words 'which is broken for you'; and the commemorative aspect of the ordinance is more strongly expressed in St. Paul's account, and also in that of St. Luke. But in other respects they all agree.

The occasion on which this sacrament was instituted has been from early times matter of debate, owing to the difficulty of reconciling the narratives of the synoptists with that of St. John. So much is plain: since Jesus rose on the first day of the week, and remained in the grave during the Jewish Sabbath, He must have been crucified on the preceding Friday; and the supper mentioned by St. Matthew (xxvi. 20) must have been the last which He partook of with His disciples, for it was held on the same night that He was betrayed, and His betrayal led immediately to His crucifixion. This supper, then, appears to have taken place on the 13th of Nisan, the day before the celebration of the legal passover. The paschal lamb was to be slain on the 14th of Nisan, and 'between the evenings,' that is, as it was usually understood, between about three o'clock in the afternoon and the setting of the sun; but at that time Jesus had expired on the cross. And St. John's account seems to confirm this; according to which it was early in the morning of the 14th of Nisan (Friday) that Jesus was brought before Pilate, and the circumstance is added, that the Jews did not enter into the judgment hall 'lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the pass-over' (xviii. 28), which implies that the passover had not yet been celebrated. On the other hand, the synoptical narratives convey the impression that it was during the Paschal feast that the Lord's Supper was instituted. It is sufficient to refer to St. Luke,

with whom the others are in substantial agreement: 'Then came the day of unleavened bread, when the passover must be killed. And He sent Peter and John, saying, Go and prepare us the passover that we may eat. And when the hour was come, He sat down, and the twelve Apostles with Him. And He said unto them, With desire have I desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer. And He took bread, and gave thanks and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is My body which is given for you; do this in remembrance of Me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the New Testament in My blood which is shed for you' (xxii. 20). The attempts that have been made to reconcile this discrepancy, as that Jesus anticipated by a day the legal passover because He knew that He Himself would the next day be slain as the Antitype, or true Paschal Lamb; or that He celebrated a mere commemorative passover like the modern Jews; or that as by His Divine authority He was 'Lord of the Sabbath,' so by the same He could institute a passover of His own; cannot be deemed successful. Both St. Matthew and St. John were eye-witnesses of what they describe, so that on this point no preference can be given to either. On the whole, St. John's account seems the more accurate; and if it be preferred, the meal at which the Eucharist was instituted was not the Jewish passover, as indeed it is not so called by this Evangelist.*

As regards the meaning of the words used by Christ, there does not seem room for much difference of opinion. 'Take eat, this is My body which is broken for you': whether we interpret *τοῦτο* of the bread delivered, which is quite compatible with the rules of grammar, the neuter being frequently used as the subject when the predicate is of an inanimate object; or take it to refer to the whole transaction, This ordinance which I now appoint; is a matter of little moment. Since the word is repeated in the delivering of the cup, the latter seems the more natural construction. Nor does it signify whether we attach the words 'in My blood' to 'the cup' or to the 'New Covenant'; this cup by reason of what is (symbolically) contained in it, viz., My blood shed for you, is the New Covenant, or, this cup is the New Covenant, which covenant is founded in, sanctioned by, My blood, as the Mosaic covenant was hallowed with the blood of burnt sacrifices (Exod.

* The reader who wishes to pursue the subject will find it fully discussed by Lücke on John xviii. 28; De Wette, Kgf. Handbuch, etc., John xiii. 1-20; and Winer, Real Wörter-Buch, 'Pascha.' It is to be noted that during the supper Judas departed on his errand, and Jesus and His disciples after it was finished proceeded to the Mount of Olives; whereas it was the Jewish custom not to leave the house or the city on the night of the Paschal feast. See Exod. xii. 22.

xxiv. 8) : the meaning either way will be nearly the same. Of more importance it is to determine the sense of the copula 'is,' which occurs, as regards the bread, in all the accounts, St. Luke alone omitting it in the delivery of the cup. Grammatically, as is acknowledged even by rigid Lutherans,* it may be taken either in a literal or a figurative sense; the context determining which is to be adopted. Even if there were no Biblical examples of the figurative usage, the general laws of language would support it.† But, in fact, Scripture abounds with instances. Such are, I am the Vine, I am the Door, The Seed is the Word, This Rock was Christ, I am the Bread of Life, and others of similar character. The literal interpretation, then, not being forced on us, we examine the context. Can we suppose that our Lord, sitting at the table, meant to deliver to the Apostles a duplicate of Himself, so that two bodies of Christ, in His proper humanity, were present there at the same time? This will hardly be maintained; only, perhaps, that an invisible spiritual body was so connected with the bread and wine by the words of Christ that though but one Christ could be seen, heard, and handled, another Christ, who could not be perceived by the senses, was under the material elements delivered to the Apostles to be fed upon. But this is to introduce the theories of a later age, and to force upon the words of institution a sense which they do not necessarily convey. To which we may add that a doketic conception of this kind would be foreign to the habits of mind of the Apostles, men untrained in the schools of philosophy. Moreover, the body and the blood distributed are said to be the one broken, the other shed; neither of which was at the time fact, but the contrary; so that it could never have occurred to the assembled guests to put a literal construction on their Master's words. Had they done so, we should have expected some such expression of surprise on their part as that of the men of Capernaum, John vi. 52, 'How can this Man give us His flesh to eat?' But they seem unconscious of any such miracle; and if this impression was a false one, it was not rectified by Christ Himself. In short, they must have understood the word 'is' as they were accustomed at each anniversary of the passover to understand Exod. xii. 24-27: 'Ye shall observe this thing for an ordinance to thee and to thy sons for ever. And it shall come to pass that when your children shall say unto you, What mean ye by this service? that ye shall say, It is the sacrifice of the Lord's passover, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel when

* See e.g. Kahnis, *Lehre vom Abendmahle*, 41, quoted by Schenkel, *Dog.*, B. ii., p. 1125.

† Thus it is common to say, 'This picture is the person' whom it is intended to represent.

He smote the Egyptians.' It was not the very sacrifice of that memorable night, but a memorial of it; and every Jew would understand that the word 'is' was not to be taken literally. It is to be observed, further, that no section of the Christian Church construes the words literally throughout. The Romish Church, which advances to the extreme limit in this direction, teaches indeed that the substance of the bread is changed into the body of Christ, but it leaves the accidents as they were; and a substance, deprived of its accidents, is so far not what we mean literally by the object in question. Nor does, or can, any Church construe the words 'This cup is the New Testament, or covenant, in My blood' literally: the cup was not the wine contained in it, nor was the wine a covenant. We arrive, then, at the conclusion that a literal interpretation of the words of institution is untenable; and this, whether the transaction is to be considered as commemorative, or symbolical; and whether, with Zwingli, we take the word 'is' to be equivalent to 'signifies,' or, with Æcolampadius, attach the trope to the words 'body' and 'blood,' as meaning 'figure of My body,' 'figure of My blood.'

The bread broken and the wine poured out were symbolical, as Christ Himself declares, of His body broken and His blood shed; but there was another act to be performed, viz., the eating of the bread and the drinking of the wine, an actual participation of the elements, which we must suppose was also intended to convey a meaning. What this is no one can mistake: the atonement of Christ, in order to become beneficial must be appropriated, just as bread and wine have no power to nourish until received into the system. The blessing intended, whatever it may be, must be spiritually assimilated by some spiritual organ, and so made over to the individual. We hence learn that the ordinance does not merely imply commemoration; though the repeated injunction to 'do it in remembrance' of Christ proves that this aspect of it is, to say the least, a principal one; but that it implies also an active appropriation of some spiritual benefit on the part of the receiver. What we therein 'show forth,' that is, commemorate, openly boast of, and trust in, is 'the death of Christ, till He come'; but the eating and drinking signify, further, that the atonement must become ours by a personal and apprehensive faith.

It is difficult to understand how the idea of priestly consecration could have come to be connected with the simple words of Christ. The meal at which they were used was either the legal passover, or a substitute for it; and it is well known that the ministration of a priest was not necessary at the celebration of the passover: each family kept the feast in its own house, under the presidency of the head of the family. To him, and not to a

priest, was assigned the duty of giving thanks over the unleavened cakes, which he afterwards broke and distributed; and over the cups, said by some to be four in number, by others five,* which in like manner were handed round. 'The cup of blessing which we bless, the bread which we break' (1 Cor. x. 16); if the acts of blessing and breaking the bread were afterwards, as a matter of order, confined to the presbyters present, neither does this passage prescribe it, nor was the custom derived from the Jewish Paschal feast, at which Christ presided. Nor did the words, 'This is My body,' 'This is My blood' carry with them any consecrating virtue, or even separation from common to sacred purposes. Whether the meal was the legal passover, or merely a prophetic one, the bread and the wine had already been set apart as constituents of the feast itself; they had been already hallowed; and Christ did nothing more than apply these substances, with the customary act of thanksgiving, to the purposes of the new covenant. To explain this transfer and adaptation, not to introduce an element of liturgy, was the object of the Saviour; and nothing else is contained in His words. Had He intended to establish a new priestly institute, to take the place of the old, and intended to attach it to the sacrament, He would have appointed a sacerdotal ritual and specific directions how the sacrifice was to be offered; He would have given a warning against the celebration of the mysteries by others than consecrated hands. These things, indeed, we find in abundance in later ages of the Church, but no trace of them appears in the original record of institution. The Lord's Supper there appears reduced to its barest elements—eat the bread, drink the cup; and appears instituted in the persons of the Apostles, not as priests or even ministers, but as representatives of the true Church† to the end of time, and without a hint of devolution of sacerdotal powers to successors. Whether the prayer employed on this occasion was a silent or an uttered one; whether the thanksgiving in use at the Jewish festival ('Praised be the Lord, who causes the fruit of the earth to grow, who creates the produce of the vine'), or some other, was employed; how often the sacrament is to be celebrated; at what particular time of the day, except so far as Christ Himself instituted it in the evening—on these, and such like points, the original narrative is silent: a proof that Christians have emerged from the region of

* For an account of the manner in which, in the time of Christ, the Passover was celebrated, Winer, R.W.B., under the word 'Pascha,' may be consulted; but his authorities are of late date (chiefly the Talmudists). The main points, however, are specified in Exod. xii.

† 'Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you' (John xv. 3)—the word which severed Judas Iscariot from the Apostolic college (John xiii. 27).

type and shadow, to which a ritual worked out by law into a minute detail is appropriate, into that of the freedom of the Gospel, which, provided the substance is retained, leaves scope for differences of administration, according to varying circumstances of climate or social usage. Nor, as has been observed (§ 83), does the later revelation vouchsafed to the Apostles supply the deficiency, as it did in many important points of doctrine and practice left by Christ Himself to be thus more fully explained or supplied. After the institution, the Eucharist is seldom referred to in the New Testament, and for the most part incidentally, to correct abuses which had sprung up in connection with it. If Acts ii. 42 alludes to it, nothing more is said than that the disciples continued in the breaking of bread. We read in Acts xx. that, on the first day of the week, the disciples came together to break bread, and nothing further. 1 Cor. x. 16 has been already considered. So far as we gather from Scripture, the true consecrating element, that which gives 'validity' to the sacrament and ensures the grace thereof, is not the person of the administrator but the faith of the recipient. In a secondary sense, indeed, the bread and wine may be said to be consecrated to holy uses. So was the tabernacle, and the vessels it contained. Things thus set apart contract a special relation to God, and a relative sanctity; and to profane them by careless or indiscriminate use is a sin. Such was the sin of the Corinthian Church (1 Cor. xi.). The bread and wine of celebration are, in this sense, no longer common bread and wine. But Christ, in instituting the supper, acted as Master of the feast, not as a priest; and no physical transformation, the effect of a priestly word, however spiritually it may be interpreted, can be connected with the words He used. And the blessing which He intended to convey, and which in fact the Church does receive in this holy ordinance, belongs not to the elements as such, but to the worthy reception of them. Christ, or the Spirit of Christ, is to be sought, not in them, but in the proper use of them, that is, as used by those who are already in spiritual union with Him.*

'Do this in remembrance of Me': this is the only object of the Eucharist, which Christ Himself enunciates; a circumstance which may be commended to the attention of those who seem inclined to forget it. The words imply the impending departure of the Speaker in the flesh; and since we are apt to forget those who are absent, it is plain that the ordinance is especially in-

* 'The real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not, therefore, to be sought in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament.' Hooker, E.P., B. v., 6.

tended to counteract this tendency. But there is to be a remembrance not merely of His person, but of His atoning work on the Cross; of His body broken and His blood shed for the remission of sin; and the subsequent history of the Church proves how important the sacrament is in this point of view. That history reads us a lesson how easily the all-sufficiency of this atonement may be forgotten, and its place supplied by reliance on human merit or the mediation of a human priesthood, to the detriment of that 'peace with God through Jesus Christ'; on which alone, as a foundation, the edifice of true sanctification and fruitful service can be raised. Do this, and as you do it, remember that by the death which it symbolizes, 'a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice and satisfaction was made for the sins of the whole world.' Simple and affecting memorial, which ought to have been the chief bond of union among Christians; and which yet, by a strange inconsistency, has been the innocent occasion of dissension and separation.

§ 97. *The Real Presence.*

That Christ is, in some sense, present in the Eucharist, follows from the promises which, before His departure, were given to the Church: 'Where two or three are gathered in My name, there I am in the midst;' 'Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world;' 'I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you.' These are general statements, but they must surely apply with peculiar force to the occasions on which Christians assemble for public worship and the celebration of the sacrament. A Church from which Christ were, in every sense, absent, would be no Church, or only as a dead body is a man, an organization from which the animating spirit had fled. So much must on all sides be admitted; but differences of opinion exist as to the manner in which Christ is present with the Church, and especially in the celebration of the Eucharist.

The term 'real presence,' which, by the way, does not occur in our formularies, is ambiguous and misleading. If Christ is present at all, or in any sense, His presence must be a real one, and not a mere phantom of the imagination. But reality may be predicated of spirit as well as of body, and which form of existence is to be here understood the mere epithet 'real' does not determine; in fact, however, the meaning in theological debate is not doubtful. It is, that Christ in His human nature, the Son incarnate, whether before or after His resurrection is immaterial—for in the latter case He could say of Himself, 'Behold My hands and My feet that it is I Myself; handle Me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see Me have' (Luke xxiv. 39)—is

present in the Eucharist. That He is so is argued from the words of institution: 'Take eat, this is My body'; 'drink, this is My blood.' Since these words give to the sacrament, in the language of the schools, its form, they never can be omitted; and what can be plainer than their import? Christ was present in His human nature when they were uttered; He must, therefore, be present, and in His human nature, at every subsequent celebration, otherwise there would be no continuity of the ordinance, and the Apostles would have received a gift which has not been transmitted to succeeding generations of Christians. He gave Himself to the first communicants; He must give Himself to their successors to the end of time and in the same sense as at first. Thus there is a real presence of the Incarnate Son wherever the Eucharist is duly celebrated.

This reasoning, however, cannot be accepted without examination. It is to be observed that the form of institution does not terminate, as it is often made to do, with the words 'body' or 'blood,' but contains an addition of great importance. The full form is, 'This is My body, which is given for you;*' 'this is My blood, which is shed for you;' and in the original the mode of expression is more significant than can be gathered from our versions, authorized or revised. For the words 'which is given,' etc., 'which is shed,' etc., are not introduced by a relative and a verb (*ὃ ἐστίν*), as if they were independent and additional clauses, but by the article and the participle (*τὸ σῶμα τὸ διδόμενον. τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον*), in which construction the participles acquire a defining and limiting power. The meaning is, This is (represents or signifies) that body of Mine which is (or is about to be) given for you, this cup, that blood of Mine which is about to be shed for you; and it may be supposed, without incurring the charge of extorting a sense, that the words contain an allusion to, not another body, but another stage of humanity not at the time existing. And, in fact, Christ, as regards His human nature, did pass through two conditions of it, which, though personal identity was preserved, differed essentially; the state of His humiliation (*status exinanitionis*),† and the state of His exaltation (*status gloriæ*).‡

* In 1 Cor. xi. 24, whether with most editors we reject the word *κλόμενον* or retain it, the sense remains the same.

† Exinanitio est status Christi *θεανθρώπου*, quo is communicatam carnī suæ majestatem divinam non instar rapinæ ubique publice ostendit, sed ad tempus abdicato ejus pleno et universali usu, assumptaque conditione servili, non tantum aliis hominibus in communi vivendi ratione factus est similis, sed et acerbissimam passionem et mortem humillimo obsequio sustinuit, ut a culpa et pœna redimeret genus humanum, et amissam ei salutem repararet. Hollaz., *De Pers. Christi*, Q. 113.

‡ Status exaltationis Christi est, quo Christus, depositis infirmitatibus

And the transition from the one to the other did not take place according to the course of nature; as, for example, when the humanity of an infant passes into that of manhood or old age. It was such as required the miracle of the resurrection to effect it; such a miracle as that by which the bodies of the saints will be raised, and they who shall be alive at the second coming of Christ will be changed. Personal identity will be preserved, but the body is 'sown in corruption, raised in incorruption; sown in dishonour, raised in glory; sown a natural body, raised a spiritual body' (1 Cor. xv. 42-44). So it was with Christ Himself, the first-fruits from the dead. Now it was only in the first stage of His humanity that He was capable of suffering and death, capable of having His body broken and His blood shed, of having the body and the blood separated from each other, the well-known cause and proof of death in the Jewish sacrifices. For the ideas of suffering and death cannot be connected with Christ in His glorified humanity. The stage of humiliation has passed away, never to recur. 'Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more' (in this condition of His humanity) (2 Cor. v. 16); 'Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more' (Rom. vi. 9); He reigns in glory until all enemies are put under His feet (1 Cor. xv. 25). We have thus two states of Christ's humanity, one of which has passed away by giving place to the other, and the latter of which, the glorified state, never can be exchanged for its predecessor or come to an end. And we have now to ask, in connection with which state does Scripture allude to the Eucharist? Invariably with the state of humiliation. That the words of institution, when fully cited, do so is obvious. The only other passage of importance in this connection is 1 Cor. x. 16, and properly understood, it is a reminiscence, almost a repetition, of the words of institution. 'The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? the cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?' here, in the twofold action of eating the bread and drinking the cup, as at the institution, that is, in the separation of the elements, the death of Christ, the separation of the body and the blood, is symbolized, and communion or participation of that death is the thing signified by the eating and drinking. The future meeting of Christ and His Church, to which He alludes in the words 'I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine until I drink it new with you in My Father's kingdom' (Matt. xxvi. 29), whatever we are to

carnis, plenarium divinæ majestatis usum suscepit et exercuit . . . Christus θεάνθρωπος exaltatus est secundum humanam naturam. *Ibid.*, QQ. 134, 135.

understand by them—most probably the marriage supper of the Lamb (Apoc. xix. 7), to celebrate the completion of redemption—will, we may be sure, be one with which no associations of suffering and death can be connected. Such, then, is the state of the Scripture evidence on this subject. Christ in His suffering humanity is not now present anywhere, for that state no longer exists; Christ in His glorified humanity is never spoken of in connection with the Eucharist, either at the institution or afterwards; nor could He be so, for the leading ideas of the sacrament are sacrifice, suffering, and atonement. We infer, then, that Christ, *as the incarnate Son*, is in no sense present in the Eucharist. He cannot be so in His state of humiliation, because He no longer exists in that state; nor in His glorified state, for the body broken and the blood shed do not belong to that state, which is incompatible with the idea of His being made an offering for sin. As far as Christ in His human nature is concerned, what is present in the Eucharist is not Himself but the *fact*, future at the institution, but on the eve of its accomplishment, of the atonement effected by His death on the cross, and the *continued virtue* of that atonement to be appropriated by faith. It is a memorial of the fact, a special means of appropriating it, a channel of grace; but Christ, in the humanity which now belongs to Him, is not to be sought in it. Where He is to be sought, in that humanity, is in heaven, discharging sacerdotal functions on behalf of His Church. His true real presence is before the throne of God, ever making intercession for us, as our High Priest, pleading the merits of the sacrifice once offered and never to be repeated, and reigning as head of His Church until all enemies are put under His feet. But He cannot be present in the body crucified and the blood separated from it, except by such a miracle as even the Romish Church has not openly ventured to defend, viz., the actual re-incarnation of the Son in the body of His humiliation, such as He had before His resurrection and ascension. It may be mentioned, in passing, that by many divines it has been doubted whether the glorified humanity of Christ has any blood in it at all, referring as they do to our Lord's words, 'A spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see Me have,' without any mention of blood. The point may be thought a speculative one; but if there is any truth in it, it is an additional proof that the words of institution cannot be applied to Christ in His glorified body.*

'He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh

* 'Might not,' asks Waterland, in his reply to Mosheim, 'body alone have sufficed' (to sustain the Lutheran doctrine of participation by the unworthy), 'especially considering how doubtful a point it has been thought, whether a glorified body has properly any blood in it or no?' Eucharist, c. viii. He refers to a treatise by Allix, 'De Sanguine Jesu Christi.'

damnation' (or, judgment) 'to himself, not discerning the Lord's body' (1 Cor. xi. 29). This verse has been cited in proof of the doctrine of the real presence in the sacrament of Christ in His humanity. The argument seems of the same character as that founded on the words, 'This is My body;' what follows about the sacrifice of the body being omitted. Isolated texts may be made to mean anything. Abuses in the celebration of the Lord's Supper had crept into the Corinthian Church, demanding the Apostle's animadversion. He reminds the Church of what 'he had received,' that the sacrament is a memorial of Christ's death, 'of His body broken, His blood shed;' symbolized by the bread broken and the wine poured out; and proceeds to point out the danger of profaning an ordinance of such sacred import. 'Whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord' (ver. 27); shall be held liable to punishment (not eternal) for thinking lightly of the death of Christ. This is the meaning in ver. 29, of 'not discerning the Lord's body': the mention of the blood is omitted as unnecessary; and the eating and drinking unworthily is explained as making no distinction between the memorial of Christ's death and an ordinary banquet. It is still the sacrifice, not the presence, of Christ to which the Apostle alludes. As to John vi. 51-63, it has never yet been satisfactorily made out that it refers directly* to the Eucharist at all. Most modern commentators of note agree with the result of Waterland's exhaustive discussion, that, though it may be *applied* to the Eucharist, it cannot be *interpreted* thereof.† It is not in itself likely that our Lord should have alluded, at so early a period of

* The reader who wishes to see all that can be said on this passage will do well to consult Lücke's Commentary.

† 'After we have sufficiently proved that in and by the Eucharist ordinarily such spiritual food is conveyed, it is then right to apply all that our Lord by St. John says in the general to that particular case; and this, indeed, the Fathers commonly did. But such application does not amount to *interpreting* that chapter of the Eucharist; e.g., the words, 'Except ye eat the flesh of Christ,' etc., 'ye have no life in you,' do not mean directly that you have no life in you *without the Eucharist*, but that you have no life without *participating of our Lord's passion*. Nevertheless, since the Eucharist is one way of participating of the passion, it was very pertinent and proper to urge the doctrine of that chapter, both for the clearer understanding the beneficial nature of the Eucharist, and for the exciting Christians to a devout reception of it' (Eucharist, c. vi.). The further inference which this valuable writer draws, that 'if we have part in Christ's crucified body, we are thereby *ipso facto* made partakers of His glorified body,' seems to amount to little more than saying, what is true, that one result of the atonement appropriated is that 'our vile body will be changed into the likeness of His glorious body' (Phil. iii. 21). But he does not profess to state it as more than an inference, nor to connect it *directly* with the Eucharist. We have seen that union with Christ's glorified body is not in Scripture connected with this sacrament; it may be doubted whether it is taught in Scripture at all. The theory probably has

His ministry, to the *sacraments* of the Church ; a remark which, notwithstanding Hooker's dictum (E. P., B. v.), may occasion doubt whether John iii. 5 is to be literally interpreted of Christian baptism. And yet there is more to be said for this latter passage than for that in John vi., for both John's and Christ's baptism had, from the identity of the visible symbol in either, to some extent anticipated the Christian rite, whereas no such anticipation of the Eucharist is to be discovered.* In either case, the supposition of a direct reference to sacraments would involve the doctrine that no one can be saved without being baptized and partaking of the Lord's Supper ; and in the case of the latter sacrament, that everyone who does partake of it will be saved : ' Whosoever eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath eternal life ' (ver. 54).

To escape from this conclusion, various exceptions are allowed, as of infants or idiots, of those who lived before the sacrament was instituted, of those who desired to receive it but were prevented by unavoidable circumstances. The necessity of such reservations shows that the words cannot be taken in their literal sense. Briefly, the leading truth unfolded in this discourse of Christ is not His presence in the Eucharist, or in any other rite of the Church, but His incarnation. In reply to the request of the Capernaïtes for material bread, He announces Himself as the Bread of Life, the bread which cometh down from heaven, of which, if ' any man eats, he shall live for ever.' This plainly contained a mystery ; and instead of expressing Himself more plainly, our Lord exchanges the term ' bread ' for ' flesh ' ; and, as if to increase the perplexity of His hearers, adds the word ' blood ' : ' Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of God and drink His blood, ye have no life in you ; ' an idea most repugnant to the Jewish mind. Now His flesh and blood combined, considered in themselves simply, seem to signify what they do in the words of institution, viz., the body of His humiliation ; † and if it be asked why He should insist on the fact of the incarnation, we have only to remember that one of the most pernicious heresies of the early Church consisted in a denial of the fact. ‡

arisen from want of due appreciation of the offices of the Holy Spirit as the Third Person in the economy of redemption. See latter part of this section.

* The Passover may be thought to hold the same place in the Jewish as the Eucharist does in the Christian economy ; but it was not such an anticipation of the Eucharist as John's baptism was of Christian baptism, because water was used in John's baptism, and is used in Christian, whence it may be argued that ' water ' in John iii. 5 must refer to Christian baptism, the visible symbol being common to both.

† So we read in 1 Cor. xv. 50, ' flesh and blood ' (σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα), our present bodies, ' cannot inherit the kingdom of God.'

‡ ' Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God ' (1 John iv. 3).

'Flesh and blood' signify what the eternal Son became when He entered the womb of the Virgin; and to eat and drink of His flesh and His blood is to accept in faith that incomprehensible mystery. But the incarnation was with a view to the atonement, and our Lord completes His present disclosure of the mystery with a reference thereto: 'The bread that I will give is My flesh' (with the blood), 'which I will give for the life of the world.' There is here clearly a gradation of thought: the Son becomes incarnate (σάρξ καὶ αἷμα); and then, in that human nature, gives Himself, in some unexplained sense, for the life of men. The full meaning is not disclosed, and yet the additional clause connects the passage with the Eucharist. For what is here obscurely hinted at is brought to light in the words of institution: the life of the world is to be purchased not merely by Christ's giving, in some sense, His flesh for it, but specifically by giving His body to be broken and His blood to be shed, by His passion and death, for the remission of sins; and the sacrament is a perpetual memorial of that death. The ideas of incarnation and atonement are common, both to the discourse in John vi. and to the Eucharist; more dimly intimated in the one, more explicitly in the other; and so far, but no further, the former is anticipatory of the latter. The presence of the glorified humanity of Christ, alleged to be intended in the discourse and fulfilled in the appointment of the sacrament, and a quasi-physical incorporation of the recipient into that glorified humanity, are ideas foreign both to the passage in St. John and to the words of institution. 'There is one construction' (of John vi.), says the writer already referred to, as distinguished for his learning as for his candour, 'which will completely answer in point of universality, and it is this: all that shall finally share in the death, passion, and atonement of Christ are safe, and all that have not a part in it are lost. All that are saved owe their salvation to the salutary passion of Christ; and their partaking thereof (which is feeding on His flesh and His blood) is their life. Our Lord's general doctrine in this chapter seems to abstract from all particularities and to resolve into this: that whether with faith, or without (explicit, he must mean), 'whether in the sacraments or out of the sacraments, whether before Christ or since, whether in covenant or out of covenant, whether here or hereafter—no man ever was, is, or will be accepted, but in and through the grand propitiation made by the blood of Christ.*' That this is the true meaning of the passage few will doubt: the only point in which the learned writer may be thought to have erred, is in introducing into the discourse what it needed the fuller revelation of Christ

* Waterland, Eucharist, c. vi.

in the words of institution, and of the Apostles after the descent of the Holy Ghost, to explain.

It has been urged that the use of such unusual language (in the discourse at Capernaum) points to some great mystery expressed by it ; something far deeper and more sublime than the incarnation and the atonement, which are comparatively simple doctrines, and could be expounded in simple and intelligible language.* We apprehend that these two doctrines, which form the very foundation of the Gospel, are quite as mysterious as a supposed presence of Christ in His glorified body, which presence is neither that of pure body nor of pure spirit, but something between the two, which, for want of a better term, we are to call 'sacramental'; which is incomprehensible because it cannot be comprehended, mysterious no doubt but only because it abounds with contradictions ; and which cannot be proved from Scripture as necessary to the spiritual life, or (as the Fathers consistently held) to the resurrection of the body. The language, indeed, in which the incarnation and the atonement are stated is simple enough ; but the facts themselves, in their various relations, no finite mind has comprehended, or can comprehend. When St. Paul speaks of 'the mystery of godliness' (1 Tim. iii. 16), the first particular of it which he mentions is the manifestation of God in the flesh ; on union with Christ's glorified body he is silent.

So plainly incompatible are the words of institution with the glorified state of Christ, that a doubt might arise whether men of learning and ability can really mean that He is present in the Eucharist in His glorified humanity ; and not rather tacitly conceive of Him as at each celebration reverting to the state of humiliation. And, in truth, this point was not cleared up in the ancient Church until about the twelfth century. About that time it came to be received that transubstantiation did not mean reproducing the Christ who walked on the shores of the sea of Galilee and expired on the Cross, with whom alone the notion of sacrifice could be connected, but the Christ who reigns in glory, to the manifest detriment of the sacrificial theory of the Mass. The Council of Trent avoids direct statements on the subject ; and the Romish Catechism briefly declares that 'the true body of Christ, the same which was born of the Virgin, and sits in heaven at the right hand of the Father, is contained in this sacrament.†' Bellarmine's language, too, is not so clear as

* Bp. Browne on Art. xxviii.

† De Euch. xxv. Comp. : Unum itaque et idem sacrificium esse fatemur et haberi debet, quod in missa peragitur et quod in cruce oblatum est, quemadmodum una et eadem hostia, Christus videlicet qui seipsum in ara crucis semel tantummodo cruentum immolavit, Neque enim cruenta et incruenta hostia duæ sunt hostiæ sed una tantum. *Ibid.*, L. xxxii. T. Aqu. passes over the question in silence. P. iii., Q. 73.

usual: 'What is offered to God are not the species of the bread (and the wine) but that which had been offered on the Cross.'* However, it is clear that it is Christ in His glorified humanity whom the schoolmen and the Romish Church suppose to be present in the sacrament; only the sacrifice is an unbloody one as distinguished from that on the Cross; in which distinction it is forgotten that not the nature of the sacrifice, but the idea of sacrifice at all is what is incompatible with our Lord's glorified state. There is no doubt as to the meaning of the writers of our Church who hold the Real Presence. 'The immediate result' (of the denial of a human priesthood and the necessity of consecration) 'was that, instead of any recognition of the present action of *our glorified Redeemer*, the holy Eucharist was supposed to be a mere memorial of His season of humiliation;† and so another writer of the same school, 'Christ's body is now glorified, but still it is the same body,‡ though in a glorified condition. It is not denied that we receive that body really, substantially, corporally; for although the word "corporally" seems opposed to "spiritually," it is not so of necessity. When we come to explain ourselves, we may say that, though it be Christ's very body we receive in the Eucharist, and though we cannot deny even the word "corporal" concerning it, yet as Christ's body is now a spiritual body,§ so we expect a spiritual presence of that body. Certainly it is true that the faithful Christian lives by union to the glorified Divine humanity of His Lord.'|| It is to be feared that the explanation leaves the matter more dark than ever. The Rubric in the Communion for the Sick gives better instruction: 'If a man, by reason of extremity of sickness, or for want of warning in due time to the curate, or for lack of company to receive with him, or by any other just impediment, do not receive the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, the curate shall instruct him that if he do truly repent him of his sins and steadfastly believe that Jesus Christ hath suffered death on the Cross for his redemption, earnestly remembering the benefits he hath thereby, and giving him hearty thanks therefor, he doth eat and drink the body and blood of our Saviour profitably to his soul's health, although he do not receive the sacrament with his mouth.'

And yet Christ must, as we have observed, in some sense be

* De Euch., L. iv., c. 6.

† Wilberforce, Euch., c. v.

‡ No doubt, the same as! regards personal identity—the same as was born of the Virgin; but essentially different in the miraculous change which it underwent at the resurrection.

§ Query: Spiritual in the sense of not being apprehensible by the senses?

|| Bishop Browne on Art. xxviii.

present in this as in every ordinance of the Gospel ; and the discussion would be incomplete if an attempt were not made to ascertain how He is so. The 14th, 15th, and 16th chapters of St. John's Gospel furnish the explanation. 'I go,' said Christ to the disciples, 'to prepare a place for you ; but I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you. Now I go My way to Him that sent Me ; a little while and ye shall not see Me, I leave the world and go to the Father ; I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice ; if a man love Me he will keep My words, and My Father will love him, and We will come to him and make Our abode with him ; ye have heard how I said unto you, I go away, and come again to you.' There is no positive contradiction in these statements, for Christ might depart to the Father, and by coming again, mean merely that at the last day He should be seen by the disciples. But, as we have seen, such promises as 'Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world,' and 'Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst,' can hardly be reconciled with His departure to the Father, not to return till He comes to judgment. The doctrine of the Holy Trinity harmonizes what otherwise might seem inconsistent. Immediately after the announcement which filled the disciples with sorrow, Christ tells them that He would pray the Father to send them another Comforter, who should abide with them for ever, and who should as fully, and even more fully, discharge the offices which He had Himself discharged while He was with them—teaching, enlightening, comforting ; that it was expedient for them He should depart, for otherwise this other Comforter would not come to them (John xvi. 7). This Comforter was to exercise a much more important agency in the new dispensation than that of merely bringing down the incarnate Son from heaven to be present in the Eucharist or in Baptism : He was to be the active Administrator of the new dispensation, as it was founded on the work of redemption by Christ. We know who the promised Comforter is, 'even the Spirit of truth' (xiv. 17)—the third Person of the Trinity, who, as regards His Godhead, that wherein the Divine personality resides, is one with Christ ; a Vicar indeed, to take the Saviour's place, but because He is a *Divine* Vicar, one with the Principal. And thus where Christ is there is the Holy Ghost, and where the Holy Ghost is there is Christ. In the language of the ancient Canon, 'opera Trinitatis ad extra indivisa sunt ;' *i.e.*, in works outside itself, all the Persons of the Holy Trinity combine in producing the work. Such a work was creation, which is indiscriminately ascribed to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit : and such another is the Divine indwelling in the Church. It is in works

ad intra, in the internal relations of the three Persons towards each other, that the distinction of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit resides. Not that, even in the economy of redemption, we may 'confound the Persons,' and say that the offices of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are strictly one and the same; whence the aforesaid Canon adds, 'Salvo tamen earum (Personarum) ordine et discrimine.' To the Father, election belongs; to the Son, redemption; to the Holy Ghost, sanctification. This is the great mystery of Christian Trinitarianism; that in the work *ad extra* of restoring fallen man, it is the whole Trinity that is operative, while yet there is a distinction between the Persons: the second and the third Persons are, as regards the Godhead, one, and, notwithstanding, One of them is the Redeemer, the other the Sanctifier.* And thus our Lord could, with perfect consistency, say that, in one sense, He would depart from His Church (to discharge sacerdotal functions in heaven), and in another that He would ever be with His Church; or, in other words, Christ is really absent and really present—absent as the incarnate Son, present in and by His Divine Vicar, the Holy Ghost. Through the indwelling of this Divine Vicar, Christ is in Christians and they in Him (John xvii. 23); holds inward fellowship with them (Rev. iii. 20); dwells in their hearts by faith (Ephes. iii. 17); is in them, the hope of glory (Col. i. 27): not that Christ in His glorified humanity takes up His abode in us, which, if that humanity is not a phantom but a reality, is inconceivable; but that the Comforter, who takes His place, and who is, in fact, Christ as regards the Godhead, performs these gracious offices. 'It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life' (John vi. 63). Thus in this as in other instances the doctrine of the Trinity supplies the key to the meaning of passages which otherwise seem not easy to reconcile; a proof of this doctrine analogous to that on which the law of gravitation rests; viz., that the Newtonian hypothesis, and it alone, has been found adequate to explain the motions of the heavenly bodies, even such as on their first discovery may have appeared exceptions to it. To our faith Christ must ever be present, whether in the Eucharist or out of it; His atonement on the Cross, never to be repeated, is the foundation of our hopes, and His intercession in heaven our warrant for drawing nigh to the mercy-seat; and especially must He be present to our faith in

* Compare the Catechism: 'What dost thou chiefly learn in these Articles of thy belief? First, I learn to believe in God the Father, who made me and all the world; secondly, in God the Son, who hath redeemed me and all mankind; thirdly, in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me and all the elect people of God.' Since creation does not belong to the economy of redemption, it seems more proper to ascribe election to the Father.

view of the operation of the Holy Ghost, His Vicar on earth ; for the great gift of the Comforter was the particular fruit of His cross and passion : we feed upon His Person and work by faith ; He is in us by the indwelling of His Spirit ; beyond this it is not safe, because it is not Scriptural, to advance.

Where true views are entertained of the Holy Spirit's work under the Gospel dispensation ; that His are the offices of teaching, quickening, sanctifying, conferring gifts, and in general of actively administering the *application* of Christ's work ; such expressions as that 'the life' of Christ in His glorified humanity is communicated to us in the Eucharist or elsewhere, might be spared. They are difficult to understand, and they are not needed. They savour of *physical* conceptions of our union with Christ. What more do we need than the great promise, 'He' (the Comforter) 'dwelleth with you, and shall be in you' (John xiv. 17)? In truth, the doctrine of the real presence would be an otiose conception, of little practical moment, but for its connection with another doctrine far more influential in its results. The Church of the fourth and fifth centuries, and even earlier, began to regard the Christian ministry as a continuation of the Levitical priesthood, but priests without sacrifices to offer would be an incongruity, and where could there be a proper sacrifice without a victim? To fill up the gap, Christ in His humanity was supposed to be present in the Eucharist by virtue of consecration ; and when the theory was fully worked out, to be sacrificed afresh at each celebration of the Mass. To the Romanist the doctrine of a real presence of Christ in His human nature is a necessity ;* to the Protestant, even to the Lutheran, it is not so. The Lutheran holds it as a truth of Scripture, but builds nothing of importance upon it. In any system of really Protestant theology it is a superfluity, which may be dispensed with.

§ 98. Ubiquity.

What the powers and properties of a glorified body may be is an interesting subject of speculation, but one on which Scripture throws little or no light. It has entered, however, into controversies about the Eucharist, and especially that touching the power of Christ to be present at various celebrations in His glorified humanity ; and although the inquiry may seem superfluous until it is proved that Christ, as the Incarnate Son, is present at all in

* As is candidly admitted by Bellarmine : *Eucharistia potuisset vere et proprie sacramentum esse, etiamsi Christi corpus reipsa non contineret. Quæ igitur causa est cur debuerit necessario Eucharistia Christi corpus reipsa continere, nisi ut posset vere et proprie Deo patri a nobis offerri, et proinde sacrificium esse vere et proprie dictum.* De Miss., L. i., c. 22.

that ordinance, it may, on historical grounds, claim some notice here.

That Christ, as God, is omnipresent all must admit; but the general remark may be made that the abstract attributes of Deity belong rather to the topic of natural theism than to that of the economical Trinity, the Trinity of redemption. In other words, we cannot speak of the presence of Christ in the Church without bearing in mind that He is God manifest in the flesh (that is, under a veil), that He humbled Himself so as to become obedient to death, that He ascended to heaven in a proper, though glorified, humanity; facts which render the problem of His omnipresence, as the Son incarnate, by no means so simple as it might at first sight appear. Such arguments as those of Luther in the Sacramentarian Controversy, that since God is omnipresent and the human nature can never be conceived of apart from the Divine, therefore the latter must also be omnipresent; or that since Christ is at the right hand of God, and the right hand of God is everywhere, Christ is everywhere; are far from conclusive. Can a real human nature, which could be touched and handled (Luke xxiv. 39), be ubiquitous? Can even a glorified body be independent of space? Can that be a body which can neither be seen nor touched? Is it inconsistent, as the communion rubric declares, with the truth of Christ's 'natural' (*i.e.*, His glorified) body to be at the same time in more places than one? These, and similar questions, not easy of solution, arise in connection with the complex person of the Redeemer.

In a previous section (§ 53) some account was given of the attempts made by theologians to explain, and even to modify, the definitions of the Council of Chalcedon, which laid down that in Christ there is one Divine Person (*ἐν πρόσωπον, μὴ ὑπόστασις*), consisting of two natures, the Divine and the human, which, though combining to form the one Person, did so, not in the way of fusion (*ἀσυγχύτως*), nor by alteration of the essential properties of either (*ἀτρέπτως*), but of union under one hypostasis; to which the statements of the Athanasian Creed correspond: 'Although He be God and man, yet He is not two but one Christ. One not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God. One altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of Person.' It was shown that these attempts, as they assumed a final shape in the writings of J. Damasc., failed to bring the natures into any real union. Neither did his Perichoresis (*circumcessio*), or interpenetration of the natures, nor his Theosis, or deification of the human nature, solve the difficulty: though the latter may be thought an approximation thereto. All through mediæval theology a monothelism

tendency is visible: Christ and man are kept apart, as the infinite from the finite: the Saviour dwells in incommunicable glory; and we have no longer a High Priest who can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, because He was in all points tempted as we are: He is removed from human sympathy and pity, and becomes not the Propitiator but the Being to be propitiated. This appears most strongly in the Romish Church where Christ practically disappears as the Mediator between God and man, His place being taken by other mediators. The cult of the Holy Virgin in that Church is only the natural result of this tendency, and proves that the instincts of sinful and suffering man, if not satisfied by the Scriptural exhibition of the Redeemer, are sure to seek their gratification in forbidden ways. The schoolmen advanced little beyond the point at which J. Damasc. had left off.

Soon after the commencement of the Reformation disputes arose between the Lutheran and the Swiss Reformers on the subject of the Eucharist, and particularly on the mode of the presence of Christ in that sacrament. Luther's early views, before his attention had been drawn to the subject, seem to have fluctuated between the extremes of Romanism and Zwinglianism; at least, his language is ambiguous, and admits of various interpretation. It was not until A. Carlstadt, at one time a friend and coadjutor of the great Reformer, appeared publicly at Wittenburg about the year 1526, as an opponent of the doctrine of the real presence, that the controversy assumed an embittered aspect. Luther classed Carlstadt with the enthusiasts of the inner light (*Schwarmgeister*) whose extravagancies had raised a prejudice against the Reformation; but, in fact, his opinions seem to have differed little from those of Zwingli, *Æcolampadius*, and Bullinger, to say nothing of Calvin. The Lutheran doctrine may be summed up in the words of the *Formula Concordiæ*, which, though composed after Luther's death, represents his sentiments: 'We believe and confess that in the Lord's Supper the body and blood of Christ' (tantamount, it is assumed, to the whole Christ) 'are truly and substantially present, and are received along with' (*in, cum, sub*) 'the bread and wine' (P. i., c. 7). From which it follows not only that Christ's manhood is practically ubiquitous, but that the unworthy are equally with the worthy partakers of Christ.

Of Scripture proof Luther adduces but little, except the words of institution. He avows, in a letter to the Reformers of Strasburg (1524), that five years previously he would have been only too glad to be able to accept the tropological sense of the words, 'This is My body,' for that it would have placed in his hands a weapon of great force against the Papacy, but that he

could not get over 'the powerful letter of Scripture.' On this point sufficient has been said in the preceding section. His doctrine is that of the *communicatio idiomatum* (see § 53) applied particularly to the question of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, and the later schoolmen, chiefly Occam and Biel, are the authorities which he follows. According to these writers a thing or person may be present in three ways, 'circumscriptive,' 'definitive,' and 'repletive.' 'Circumscriptive,' when a body which we see and can touch, occupies a certain portion of space; it is circumscribed by space. In this sense Christ on earth was present; He could be seen and touched, and filled a portion of space. 'Definitive,' when a body is not locally present, or an object of sense, yet can, when it pleases, be here or there, as, for example, the angels and spirits. The presence of Christ in the Eucharist is of this nature, and may be illustrated by the power which He exercised after the resurrection of passing through the closed doors of the place where the disciples were assembled (John xx. 19). It resembles, too, the presence of the soul in the body of man; the soul dwells in the whole body, but also, and as completely, in each part thereof. It may be called an illocal presence, a presence independent of space. 'Repletive' signifies the Divine omnipresence in the strict sense of the word, all things being present to God and He to them. Such were the speculations of the schools, which it is unnecessary to pursue further. Luther and his followers, adopting the scholastic terms, attributed to Christ in His glorified humanity a presence in the Eucharist both 'definitive' and 'repletive.' Since the human nature, they argued, exists in inseparable union with the Divine, and the Divine is omnipresent, the human nature, too, must be omnipresent; from which it would logically follow that Christ is present in every particle of matter throughout the universe as God is, in every stone, every tree, every animal. Well might the Swiss theologians ask, was it really intended that Christ is present in the Eucharistic elements only as He is present in the materials of every common meal, as He undoubtedly is, when considered merely as God? The difficulty was pressing, and Luther could only meet it by maintaining that Christ may be present, not only 'repletive' in the full sense of omnipresence, but also, in certain cases, 'definitive,' by virtue of a special appointment and promise. The Eucharist, he holds, is an example. 'Although Christ is in all creatures, and I might find Him in a stone, fire, water, etc., as assuredly He is there, yet it is not His will that, without His word, I should seek Him there. He is omnipresent, but thou art not to *feel after Him* everywhere, but only where the promise is, there thou properly apprehendest Him.' 'If His glorified body passed through doors, and

if even upon earth He could say that He was in heaven (John iii. 13), He must be omnipresent now, for in every stage of His humanity personal identity remained. He was omnipresent as the babe in the manger, He was so on the cross, and is so now in His glorified state. Why, then, is He present *in the Eucharist particularly* and after a special manner? Because it is one thing that God is there, and another that He is there *to thee*. And to thee He is there when He pledges His word for it, and says, Here thou shalt find Me.* Such is the Lutheran doctrine, especially as it was fully worked out by J. Brenz, of Wurtemberg, 1555. It differs from that of the early Church in predicating of the body of Christ, the human nature, what the Fathers ascribe to the whole person, in the union of the two natures. It did not receive the sanction of Melanethon, who, in his later years, inclined to Calvin's view, nor of Chemnitz, one of the authors of the 'Formula Concordiæ,' and in other respects a decided Lutheran. This eminent theologian's labours were very properly directed to confining the controversy within the limits of Scripture as much as possible, and avoiding philosophical speculations, which, in his opinion, seldom lead to profitable results. It is the presence of Christ, he observes, not in the abstract, *but in the Church*, that Christians have to do with. Accordingly, instead of the physical conceptions of Luther and Brenz (and it may be added of the Fathers), who united the natures as metal and heat are united in a mass of glowing iron, Chemnitz insisted rather on the ethical aspect. The human nature is present in the Eucharist, not of natural necessity, but as the Logos wills that it should be; for the term ubiquity, he says, let us substitute multivolipresence, a presence which, however multiplied, results from particular acts of the Divine will. 'Let us be content with this, that Christ in His humanity can be present everywhere, whensoever, and in whatever manner He pleases, but as to what His will is, let us judge from His revealed word.'†

On the whole it may be said that these subtle definitions and

* 'Sermon on the Sact.,' 1526, and the tract 'That these last words,' 1527; quoted by Kübel, Art. Ubiquität, in Herzog's Encycl.

† *Intra hos terminos, in cœna dominica et ecclesia, disputationem contineamus. Si in Scriptura nullum expressum verbum aut specialem promissionem de præsentia Christi etiam secundum humanam naturam in ecclesia in his terris militante habemus; aut si Scriptura traderet Christum tantum divina sua natura ecclesiæ suæ in terris adesse; ego sane pro mea simplicitate nec auderem nec vellem ex nudis argumentationibus de prærogativis hypostatice unionis aliud aliquid vel extruere vel accipere. De duab. Nat. Quoted by Frank., Comm. idiot., Herzog, vol. iii. The presence of the Holy Ghost in the Church, not of Christ directly as the incarnate Son, is the point on which Chemnitz, in common with many other controversialists, seems not sufficiently clear.*

distinctions amount to little more than a confession of ignorance, and lose themselves at last in mystery. What conception can we form of an illocal presence? Or of a presence not strictly ubiquitous, yet capable of being, at will, in various places at once? What do we know of the relation of a glorified body to space, or of its powers, or of the connection, antecedently to the incarnation, of the Logos with the Man Christ Jesus? How can an angel, or a (created) spirit, the examples which the schoolmen employ of a presence definitive, be present not merely in various places successively, but in various places at once, which is the thing predicated of Christ in the Eucharist? The 'natural' body of Christ, it is admitted even by Romanists, is in heaven; if it is present in the Eucharist, it is so as regards the 'substance.' But substance is a mere category, an abstraction, never existing by itself, but always in the concrete. The logical substance of a man is in no proper sense of the words a man. Of these difficulties the defenders of a real presence of Christ in the Eucharist seem conscious, for it is chiefly by negatives that they define it. It is not local, it is not natural, it is not an object of sense, it is not ubiquitous as God is, but only as Christ wills. What, then, is its mode? It is sacramental; which seems little more than saying that Christ's presence in the sacrament is a sacramental one; which, however true, does not add much to our knowledge. It is to be observed that the Romish Church can dispense with speculation on this subject, since by the miracle of transubstantiation, wrought by consecration, the elements are, at each celebration, changed into Christ in His glorified humanity. Hence Bellarmine can, and does, contend against the essential ubiquity of Christ's human nature, by the *communicatio idiomatum*, as strongly as Zwingli and Ecolampadius themselves.* The Lutheran doctrine renders consecration unnecessary.

But from another quarter, too, a difficulty arises. According to Luther, the ubiquity of Christ's human nature dates from the *unio personalis* in the womb of the Virgin, but during the state of humiliation it was only in possession, not in use, or not always in use; it was restrained in its exercise. But on the ascension, the human nature entered into the full exercise of the Divine attributes, omnipotence, omnipresence, omniscience; *finitum* became not merely *capax infiniti*, but actually *infinitum*. Now there is no doubt that the session at the right hand of God is described in

* Hic contenti erimus brevissime demonstrare, per figmentum ubiquitatis non modo non explicari aut confirmari sed plane obscurari et everti sacramentum cœnæ Domini. Videmus ubiquitatem non per se placere sed solum quia non habent (Lutherani) quod dicant, quando ab eis petitur unde fiat ut corpus Domini sit in Eucharistia, si rejicitur consecratio. De Sac. Euch., L. iii., c. 17.

terms which seem to approach to a deification of the whole Christ: 'We see Jesus who suffered on the cross crowned with glory and honour' (Heb. ii. 9); 'God has exalted Him, and given Him a name above every name' (Phil. ii. 9); 'all power is given' unto Him 'in heaven and in earth' (Matt. xxviii. 18); prayer is made to Him (Acts vii. 59).^{*} Yet, on the other hand, in 1 Cor. xv. 24-28, Christ is said to reign only until He has put all enemies under His feet; that a time is coming when His mediatorial offices shall cease, and the kingdom shall be delivered up to God, even the Father; when the Son Himself (in our nature) shall be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all. The passage is one the full meaning of which commentators have as yet failed to discover; but the impression conveyed is that Christ, even after the close of this dispensation, will, as touching His manhood, still be in a state of subordination to the Father. Since the Church holds that the human and the Divine natures never can be separated, a question arises whether this relative subordination shall ever cease. If not, the Divine attribute of ubiquity cannot be predicated of Christ either now or hereafter; and the Lutheran doctrine, that eventually the human nature will be really deified, demands revision. We may put the question in another form: does the *κένωσις* spoken of in Phil. ii. 7 cease with the *ταπεινώσις* of the following verse? In this passage two distinct stages in the incarnation seem to be indicated, one ending with ver. 7, the other with ver. 8. 'He did not think it a thing to be grasped at to remain equal with God, but emptied Himself (*ἐκένωσε*), so as to be in the likeness of men'; the incarnation itself was a kenosis or relative emptying of the Divine nature, in that a real human nature cannot be conceived of as possessing the abstract Divine attributes. But further: being thus incarnate, He grasped not at earthly riches or splendour, but humbled Himself (*ἐταπεινώσεν ἑαυτόν*) to a life of suffering, and to the death of the cross. This latter tapeinosis ceased with the ascension; Christ is highly exalted, with a name above every name; but as long as He is really man, does the former kenosis entirely cease? The answer may affect the question whether ubiquity is to be predicated, either now or at any time, of the incarnate Son?

§ 99. *Transubstantiation.*

This dogma, on which the sacrifice of the Mass depends, passed, like most of those established at the Council of Trent, through many stages before it assumed its final shape. The earliest

^{*} As a rule, in the New Testament prayer is made to God through Christ, not directly to Christ. Still, instances of the latter occur, and the divinity of Christ is sufficient ground for it.

Patristic mention of the Eucharist occurs in the epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnæans. There are some, Ignatius observes, who abstain from eucharistia and prayer, 'because they do not admit that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ which suffered for us.* This is little more than a repetition of the words of institution, 'This is My body, broken for you'; and whether Ignatius interprets the words literally or tropologically is not clear. Nor can more be inferred from the passage of Justin, *Apol. I.*, 66: 'We receive the elements not as common bread and wine; for as our Saviour Christ assumed for our sake flesh and blood, so we have been taught that the eucharistic food is the body and blood of the incarnate Jesus.' No change in the elements is here asserted, and, indeed, the comparison of the incarnation excludes such a supposition, for when the Word became man He did not convert either the Godhead into flesh, or the manhood into Deity. 'As the bread,' says Irenæus, 'when it receives the invocation of God, is no longer common bread but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, an earthy and a heavenly, so our bodies through the Eucharist are no longer corruptible, but partakers of the hope of the resurrection.† The distinction here indicated between an earthly and a heavenly element in the sacrament seems an anticipation of that of the schoolmen between the *sacramentum* (the bread and wine) and the *res sacramenti*, the body and blood of Christ; and particularly the supposed effect of the sacrament on the body, a doctrine which occupies a conspicuous place in later writers, but which has no warrant in Scripture, is to be noted; but nothing is said of a change of the substance of the bread and wine. By the Alexandrian School, as represented by Clement, Origen, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and even Athanasius,‡ the symbolism of the elements is insisted on; which, if not absolutely inconsistent with a change of substance, does not favour it;§ and no less is it so by the leaders of the African Church, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine. 'Christ,' says Tertullian, 'in taking and distributing the bread to His disciples, made it His body, when He said, "This is My body;" that is, a figure of My body.¶ Cyprian: 'Let the Divine tradi-

* *Ad Smyrn.*, c. 7. It may be a question whether the word 'Eucharistia' as connected with prayer means more than thanksgiving; but the following words, *τὴν εὐχαριστίαν*, no doubt refer to the sacrament.

† *Cont. Hær.*, L. iv., 5. *Comp. L. v.*, cc. 2, 3.

‡ See the passages from these Fathers in Steitz's article, 'Transubstantiation,' in *Herzog. Encyc.*, to which the present writer is much indebted.

§ Romish writers admit that the accidents of the bread and wine may, while the substance which has disappeared cannot, be called a figure.

¶ *Adv. Mar.*, iv. 40. *Comp. iii.* 19: Sic enim Deus in Evangelio quôque vestro revelavit, panem corpus suum appellans, ut et hinc jam eum intelligas corpori sui *figuram panis* dedisse.

tion touching the offering of the cup be followed ; and let us not deviate from the example of Christ, but mix wine in the cup which is offered in remembrance of Him ;* the commemorative aspect of the ordinance here retains its place, and this again does not favour the notion of a presence of Christ in and under the elements. The figurative interpretation finds a strong defender in Augustine. A question had arisen in the diocese of Boniface, Augustine's friend, whether it was proper to use language which seemed to imply that Christ was offered afresh at each celebration, particularly on Good-Friday ; and it was referred to the Bishop of Hippo for consideration. The answer of Augustine is that as we commonly say on Easter Sunday, ' Christ rose to-day,' so, by a similar figure, we say at the Eucharist, whether it be the daily celebration or those of the great festivals, ' Christ is sacrificed for us,' whereas we know that He died once for all for sin. ' For if sacraments,' he continues, ' had not some similitude to those things of which they are sacraments, they would not be sacraments at all. But from this similitude they commonly receive the names of the things themselves. As therefore, after a certain manner (*secundum quendam modum*), the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ ; so the sacrament of faith is faith.† Still more distinctly : ' The Lord did not hesitate to say, " This is My body," when it was the sign of His body which He gave ;‡ ' Behold, we believe in Christ when we receive that supper in faith. Prepare not your mouth but your heart. In receiving it, we know what we are thinking of. We receive a morsel, and in heart are feasted. Not therefore what is seen, but what is believed, nourishes.§ It is not to be denied that all these writers, particularly Cyprian and Augustine, connect the idea of sacrifice with the Lord's Supper ; not in the primitive sense in which the offerings of the faithful presented at the Holy Table were so called, but that in the sacrament there is a representation to God, by sacerdotal hands, of Christ's sacrifice. By the Holy Ghost, as in baptism, some undefined change was supposed to be wrought in the elements, the bread being no longer *ζωὸς ἄψρος* ; and Augustine in particular, by an ambiguous use of the term ' body of Christ,' which may mean either Christ's own body or His mystical body the Church, assigns to the sacrament a power of incorporating the worthy recipient into this mystical body. Superstitious practices, as the driving out of demons by the Eucharist, and celebrating it in prayers for the dead, to say

* Epist. lxiii.

† Adv. Adimant., xii. 3.

‡ Epist. xcviii.

§ Sermo cxii., 5.

nothing of infant communion, had already become prevalent. But no formal statement as yet appears of the mode in which either the Holy Ghost, or Christ in His humanity, is present in the sacrament.

The influence of Augustine made itself felt for a long time in the Western Church, with the result that the symbolical view of the sacraments held its place along with tendencies of an opposite kind. Even Gregory the Great (A.D. 600), although he maintains that in the Eucharist an offering of Christ is repeated, adds that 'it is a sacrifice which *imitates* the passion of the only begotten Son on our behalf.*' Passages may be cited from the works of Ambrose which seem to teach transubstantiation; and indeed Paschasius Radbert, held to be the real author of this doctrine, refers to Ambrose as his principal authority; but it is not the fully developed Romish tenet. Ambrose argues from the Divine omnipotence: if by a miracle the Son became incarnate, why may not the body of Christ be present in the Eucharist by a corresponding miracle? 'Before consecration, the element (species) is bread, but when the words of Christ are added, it is the body of the Lord. And before the words of Christ the cup is full of wine and water; when the words of Christ have operated, it is made the blood of Christ. What the tongue confesses, let the heart embrace.†' Here, no doubt, a change is taught, effected by Divine power, but it is undefined: the substance of the bread and wine is not said to disappear by virtue of priestly consecration.

In the eighth century, John of Damascus, the representative of Greek orthodoxy, made important advances in this direction. Taking his stand on the Scriptural doctrine of the first and second Adam, he observes that the new birth and the new nutrition which we need, must both be spiritual. Also, since we are compounded of soul and body, the birth and the nutrition (or rather the instruments thereof, baptism and the Eucharist) must be of a compound nature; water and the Spirit in the former, bread and wine and Christ Himself in the latter. Take, eat, this is My body; drink this, it is My blood: by these words of power, the elements become transformed (*μεταποιούνται*) into the body and blood of God; the body becomes united to Deity, not however by the descent of the glorified Body from heaven (*adducone corporis*), but by the changing of the elements into the body that was born of the Virgin (*conversione elementorum*). 'Askest thou, how this can be? Learn that it is by the invocation and descent of the Holy Ghost, the same Holy Ghost who

* Hom. 37, in Evang. Dial., iv. 58. See Steitz, article 'Mass' in Herzog.

† De Sac., L. iv., c. 5.

created the human nature out of the spotless womb of the Virgin. As natural bread and wine are assimilated by the bodily organs of the receiver—and not two bodies, but one, is the result—so, through the power of the Holy Ghost, the elements are changed supernaturally into the body and blood of Christ, and one spiritual body remains. So then, the bread and wine are not types of the body and blood of Christ (God forbid), but the very body itself Deified. If some (*e.g.*, the divine Basil) have called them symbols (*ἀντίτυπα*), it was before consecration, not after. The celebration is called participation (*μετέληψις*), because in it we participate of the Deity of Christ, and are made one with Him and His Church.* It is obvious that this approaches closely to the Romish doctrine, although the mode of transformation is not defined; for if only one body remains after the change, *viz.*, the body of Christ, it seems that the bread no longer retains its substance but only its accidents. Not so much stress is laid on consecration as would be by a writer of the Western Church of the same date, and more upon the invocation of the Holy Ghost; a trait this of Eastern theology, as appears from the fact that in the Roman liturgy no such invocation appears.

The Patristic testimony may be thus summed up: a real presence of Christ in His human nature is taught by all the Fathers; and this presence is connected with the species of bread and wine, irrespectively of the faith of the receiver, so closely as to amount practically to a doctrine of transubstantiation. Ambrose, Theodoret, and J. Damasc. can hardly be understood otherwise. The statements that, in the Eucharist, Christ in His whole Person is participated of, though a gross physical union is disclaimed, and that the body receives therein the seed of immortality, are sufficient to show in what direction thought was tending. Yet, side by side with these theories, the figurative interpretation, at least in the Western Church, never wholly disappears; and the result is that authorities may be quoted on either side, and that it is very difficult to frame a consistent system out of the materials at hand. In the East it was different: the second Nicene Council (A.D. 787) taking J. Damasc. as its guide, declares that the consecrated elements are not symbols of the body and blood of Christ, but the very things themselves. The later Greek Church teaches, under the name of *μετουσίωσις*, a doctrine substantially identical with that of Rome.

So matters remained until the beginning of the ninth century, when the disputes occasioned by the writings of Paschasius Radbert, monk and afterwards Abbot of Corbie, issued in more

* De Fid. Orth., L. iv., c. 13.

precise statements. Radbert, a disciple of Augustine, endeavoured, in his treatise 'De Corpore et Sanguine Christi,' to reconcile the symbolism of his master with the teaching which had become current in the Church, but only with partial success. With Augustine he insists on the spiritual nature of the sacramental grace, and the necessity of faith to its beneficial reception; only they who belong to the mystical body of Christ, who walk by faith not by sight, receive the blessing. 'Sancta sanctorum sunt; non nisi electorum cibus est.' The unworthy partake indeed of the *sacramentum*, but not of the *virtus sacramenti*; they eat and drink to their own condemnation. But do they receive the *res sacramenti*, the body and blood of Christ? No; they receive nothing but bread and wine. 'What do the guests partake of but the mere elements, unless through faith they mount into the higher regions of spiritual perception?*' Yet he asserts in the strongest manner the presence in the sacrament of the very body of Christ that was born of the Virgin; and to the question, how this can be? he answers, that the same Word which called the world into being, changes, when spoken over the elements by the priest, the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, yet so that their figure, colour, and taste (the accidents of the schoolmen) remain; which is, substantially, the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. The consecrating power of the priest assumes in this writer a new importance. His treatise formed an epoch in the controversy, and materially influenced the decisions of the fourth Lateran Council.

It is proof, however, of the unsettled state of the controversy that Radbert's work met with opposition from influential quarters. The best known to us of his opponents are Ratramn,† also a monk of Corbie and a contemporary of Radbert, and Berengar of Tours. Ratramn received a commission from Charles the Bald to review Radbert's treatise, which had just come into the emperor's hands; and particularly to discuss the question whether what the faithful receive in the sacrament is the very body and blood of Christ, or only in a figure or mystery. This obviously is the point at issue. Ratramn's work is interesting in itself, but particularly so as having been the means of convincing our Reformers of the errors of the faith in which they had been nurtured.‡ The view maintained in it is a near approach to that of Calvin. 'What lies on the altar,' Ratramn

* C. viii. 2. Quoted by Steitz, Radbert, Herzog, vol. xii.

† Sometimes called Bertram, but probably it is a mistake of the scribes.

‡ 'This Bertram was the first that pulled me by the ear, and that first brought me from the common error of the Romish Church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly both the Scriptures and the old ecclesiastical Fathers in this matter.' Ridley, Disputation at Oxford.

says, 'is not the real body of Christ, which is in heaven, but the symbol of it, just as it is the symbol of His mystical body, the blessed company of all faithful people: it is *secundum quendam modum* the body of Christ, and that mode is in a figure or image, as when in the Lord's Prayer we ask for a supply of our daily bread, spiritual as well as natural. The elements remind us of that death which was once undergone for us, and we shall no longer need them when we behold the Saviour in His glory.' Here we might suppose ourselves listening to Zwingli. He proceeds, however, to explain that he is far from denying an objective spiritual presence, which the communicant feeds on by faith: and this is the point in which Calvin differs from the Reformer of Zurich. Ratramn, like his successor, Calvin, is not clear on the point whether it is faith that makes Christ present; we may say that when we meditate on a thing it is present to us; or whether faith is exercised on an object already by other means present. His comparison of the Eucharist with Baptism leads to the latter conclusion. In baptism, he observes, the visible element of water is one thing, the spiritual grace another; the water itself can only cleanse the body, but by consecration it receives from the Holy Ghost a supernatural power to cleanse the soul, and then is rightly called the laver of regeneration. A similar operation of the Holy Ghost must be supposed in the other sacrament, whereby the bread and wine become endued with life-giving power. It may be inferred, then, that Ratramn was not, as regards this point, superior to the current notion of his time, and held a physical change in the elements not the less real because not perceptible to the senses.

The influence of Berengar of Tours (died 1088) was not so great or so lasting as that of Ratramn; partly because his attention was not concentrated on this particular question, and partly because the recantations to which he submitted throw a shade on his character. Otherwise, his protest against Radbert's teaching leaves nothing to be desired. The senses, he argues, which God has given us must be relied on in a matter of this kind; and moreover, it is contrary to reason that substance and accidents should be divorced from each other. Scripture does not stand in our way; for John vi. does not refer to the Eucharist at all, but to the appropriating by faith of the death of Christ and the atonement thereby effected; and the words of institution must be understood figuratively. With Augustine we must distinguish between the sacrament and what is represented thereby; and if we suppose the actual body and blood of Christ to be on the altar, the nature of a sacrament is destroyed. Christ Himself is in heaven; and it is an unworthy notion that at every

consecration He should be brought down thence and sacrificed afresh. His principal opponents were, Guitmund, Archbishop of Aversa, Lanfranc and Anselm, of whom the first was chiefly instrumental in the formation of the Romish dogma. To him it owes the distinction between substance and accidents, which the schoolmen are wrongly supposed to have first propounded; and particularly the additions, that the unworthy equally with the worthy partake of Christ (without which no real doctrine of transubstantiation can hold its ground); and that the whole Christ, body, soul, and deity, is contained under either species, on which the withholding of the cup from the laity rests. Not the mere substance of Christ's body, but the glorified Saviour Himself descends from heaven, and is present in the Eucharist; the whole Christ is in each portion of the host as perfectly as in the whole ('totus in toto, et totus in qualibet parte'); in every Mass throughout the world Christ is present, and undivided in each. Such were Guitmund's positions: and it only needed the imprimatur of the Lateran Council under Innocent III. (1215) to render them the understood doctrine of the Church.

The Eucharist was a subject well suited to the theology of the schools, and accordingly it was taken up with peculiar zest by the leading schoolmen. Yet their labours consisted rather in supplementing and rounding off the theories which had established themselves in the Church than in substantial additions thereto. Some points had not been sufficiently determined. The *matter* was now confined to wheaten bread, preferably unleavened, the *form* to the words, 'This is My body,' pronounced by the priest, on which transubstantiation immediately follows; a certain amount of water is to be mixed with the wine.* But how was the change itself of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ to be described? Thomas Aquinas treats of this subject at length in P. iii. of his '*Summa Theologiæ*,' Q. 75. There are various modes in which a substance previously absent may become present. By creation, in which something is made out of nothing; or by change of place, as when Christ in His glorified body is supposed to descend from heaven and become present in the sacrament; or by conversion, one present substance being converted into another. It is in this last mode that transubstantiation takes place. The substance of the bread and wine, by the word of consecration, or, as some hold, by the power of God accompanying the word,† is converted into the substance of Christ's body and blood; the accidents only re-

* Thos. Aqu., P. iii., Q. 74.

† Thomas is in favour of the former, Bonaventure and G. Biel of the latter, hypothesis.

maining. The substance of the bread and wine is not annihilated after consecration, for, in that case, no proper conversion of one substance into the other could take place, the *terminus a quo* of annihilation being nothing. To the difficulty of conceiving how one substance can be changed into another, since the changes with which we are conversant are merely formal; *e.g.*, when air is changed into fire, the same matter of air receives the new form of fire; the only answer which Thomas supplies is that the sacramental conversion must not be compared with natural, the one being effected by Divine power, which can convert the whole substance into another substance, whereas conversion by created power can affect only the form. A more difficult class of questions is concerned with the mode in which Christ is present in the sacrament. It has been remarked that, by Guitmund, the presence of the whole Christ in the elements, and in each portion of them, was asserted; it was the task of the schoolmen to explain how this could be. The decision of Thomas Aquinas is that transubstantiation ‘terminates’ indeed in the conversion of the substance of the bread and wine into the substance of Christ’s body and blood; this is all that is directly effected *vi sacramenti*, by virtue of consecration; but that *vi concomitantie*, owing to the inseparable union of the Deity with the human nature, and of a soul with a body to make up a perfect man, the whole Christ becomes present, and the Christ in the sacrament is the same as the Christ at the right hand of God.* But what of Christ during the three days’ sojourn in Hades, when the soul was separated from the body? If the sacrament had been celebrated in that interval, Thomas argues, the soul could not have been present either *vi sacramenti* or *vi concomitantie*, and in fact the sacrament would have wanted validity (Q. lxxvi., A. 1). After the resurrection this difficulty disappeared. The principle of concomitance is also applied to explain how the whole Christ is present in either species: ‘although *vi sacramenti*, only the substance of the bread is changed into that of the body, and the substance of the wine into that of the blood, yet *vi concomitantie*’ (*i.e.*, that where the body is there must be the blood, and *vice versâ*; and with the body and blood there must be the soul and Deity); ‘the whole Christ is present under either the bread or the wine’ (*Ibid.*, A. 2). But now arose a difficulty. Christ in His glorified body is in space circumscriptive: ‘His body is a real one, and occupies a definite

* The identity of the two is a ruled point with the schoolmen and their immediate predecessors. The only difference allowed is that the glorified Christ is impassable and immortal—properties which did not belong to the state of humiliation. Strange that they did not perceive that these properties of Christ glorified are the very ones which render the words of institution inapplicable to Him as glorified.

portion of space, and each member of it its own portion : but if the sacramental and the glorified body are identical, must not Christ be also in the former circumscriptive, in His proper dimensions and figure ; which, yet, our senses tell us is not the fact ? The schools were equal to the occasion. The direct object of transubstantiation, it was replied, being only the substance of Christ's body, its local dimensions (which from its identity with the glorified body it must have) assume a subordinate place ; they exist only *per accidens* and *vi concomitantie* ; just as the dimensions of the bread remain the same after consecration, although the substance has passed away. Now the substance, or, rather, the nature of the substance (T. Aquinas confounds the two), of any body is as completely in the smallest specimen of it as in the largest ; the whole nature of air is contained in the least portion thereof, the whole nature of man in a dwarf not less than in a giant ; now, Christ is present, not after the manner of quantity, but after the manner of substance, which renders Him independent of quantitative dimension : the latter, it is true, remains, but not after its proper manner, but after that peculiar to substance.* However minute, therefore, the division of the bread, each fragment possessing the whole substance of the body possesses also its measurable dimensions, but after a mode of its own, invisible to the senses. Thus the realism of the older schoolmen, which assigned to quantity an independent existence, midway between substance and quality, enabled them, at pleasure, to attach it as an accident to substance, or to detach it therefrom ; but at the expense of any proper idea of a body. A material thing which has no quantitative existence cannot be conceived of as possessing figure or organization ; it is a mathematical point : hence it cannot be the same body as the glorified one, which was the original hypothesis. The nominalist school, represented by Occam and Biel, came by another path to the same conclusion. Quantity, they properly agreed, cannot be separated, except in thought, from a material substance ; but the substance may shrink into a state of non-extension. The natural process of condensation, whereby a thing which filled a larger space comes to fill a smaller, presents an analogy ; who can tell but that this may be the case with the body of Christ ? But the residuum, as before, is a mathematical point, without form or organization ; and the relation of the body to space is that of a mathematical point. This is the true meaning of the Lutheran 'illocal' presence in the sacrament, a presence filling no definite portion of space ; whence there is no absurdity in supposing that it may be in

* Corpus Christi est in hoc sacramento per modum substantiæ et non per modum quantitatis. Q. lxxvi., A. 1.

heaven circumscriptive and on each altar definitive; or that it may be on many altars at once. On this point of an illocal presence the Lutherans and the schoolmen, whether realists or nominalists, occupy common ground.*

The Romish doctrine, as laid down by the Council of Trent, the catechism of the Council, and the great writers of their Church, is entirely derived from the scholastic theology. The rule of inquiry, indeed, prescribed to the Council was that it should confine its proofs to the Fathers and the councils, which the Italian theologians objected to, as not allowing sufficient weight to the schoolmen, with whom they were better acquainted. Their objection was overruled, and the discussion professed to proceed on the lines stated; it soon, however, appeared that the schools, though nominally put aside, were in the ascendant.† The Dominicans and Franciscans, as usual, took opposite sides, but the theories on either side were scholastic. Both held a real doctrine of transubstantiation. The Dominicans (Thomists) denied that the presence of Christ in the sacrament is produced by a change of place, by the migration of Christ from heaven to the altar; the substance of the species being instantaneously converted into the substance of the body and blood. The Franciscans (Scotists) contended for a transitive movement, whereby the one substance comes into being where it did not previously exist, yet without interfering with the identity of Christ in heaven and Christ in the sacrament; Christ, by an exercise of Divine power, is present in heaven and also on the altar. According to the Dominicans, Christ exists in a twofold mode of being, one which may be called natural, because though in a glorified body this body like any other has its dimensions and occupies space, the other sacramental, as being peculiar to this sacrament, and a pure object of faith.‡ The Franciscans held that there is no difference between the body in heaven and that upon the

* *Corpus Christi non est in hoc sacramento secundum proprium motum quantitatis dimensionis, sed magis secundum modum substantiæ. Omne autem corpus locatum est in loco secundum modum quantitatis dimensionis, in quantum scil. commensuratur loco secundum suam quantitatem dimensionem. Unde relinquitur quod corpus Christi non est in hoc sacramento sicut in loco, sed per modum substantiæ; eo scil. modo quo substantia continetur a dimensionibus: succedit enim substantia corp. Christi in hoc sacramento substantiæ panis; unde sicut substantia panis non erat sub suis dimensionibus localiter, sed per modum substantiæ, item nec substantia corp. Christi. T. Aqu., P. iii., Q. lxxvi., A. 5. Hence the disfavour with which, in later times, the Cartesian philosophy, which made three dimensions essential to a body, was received by the Church.*

† Sarpi, L. iv., 10.

‡ The expression 'natural body' in the Communion rubric probably refers to this distinction.

altar, except that the former retains its proper quantity and relation to space, while the latter possesses dimensions only after the manner of (the nature of) a substance. These are the speculations which we have already become acquainted with in Thomas, Duns Scotus, Occam and Biel. The Council endeavoured, by using general expressions, and as few definitions as possible, to avoid giving umbrage to either party. It sided with the Dominicans in the distinction between the natural glorified body of Christ and the sacramental body: 'Christ is really, truly, and substantially contained under the sensible species of bread and wine; for there is no inconsistency in our Saviour's being at the right hand of God according to His natural mode of subsistence, and also substantially present on many altars sacramentally, according to a mode of subsistence which we cannot explain, but which is possible to God.*' 'The peculiar excellence of this sacrament is that in the other six Christ is only present virtually in the actual use of them, but in this He is present Himself, in His whole Person, and independently of the use.†' 'By the consecration of the bread and wine a conversion is effected of the whole substance of these species into the whole substance of Christ's body and blood; and this is what is properly meant by transubstantiation.‡' These statements reappear with greater precision in the anathematizing canons: 'If anyone shall deny that the whole body and blood, together with the soul and deity, of Christ, the whole Christ, is not really and substantially contained in the sacrament, but only as a sign and figure, or virtually; or that the substance of the bread and wine remains therein together with the body and the blood, denying the conversion of the whole substance of the one into the whole substance of the other; or that in either species, or any portion thereof, the whole Christ is not contained; or that after consecration the body is not in the sacrament but only while it is used; or that the chief or only fruit of the sacrament is remission of sin; or that Christ therein is eaten only spiritually, and not sacramentally and really; or that faith alone§ is a sufficient preparation for a due reception—let him be anathema.¶' The Catechism adds some further explanations. The accidents of the bread and wine, it says, remain, in a marvellous manner, perceptible to the senses, yet without any subject to inhere in; for their proper substance ceases to exist.¶ If the

* De Euch., c. i.

† *Ibid.*, c. iii.

‡ *Ibid.*, c. iv.

§ That is, without confession and absolution.

¶ De Euch., cc. i., ii.

¶ *Ita mutatur panis et vini substantia ut omnino esse desinant.* Cat. De Euch. xxv. Not annihilated (see T. Aqu., III., Q. lxxv., A. 3), but changed into another substance. *Intelligi potest cur panis in Eucharistia revera non annihilatur, licet nihil ejus remaneat post consecrationem; quia nimirum*

true body of Christ is, after consecration, under the species of bread and wine, since it was not there previously, it must be so either by change of place, or by creation, or by conversion of something not the body into the body. Not by change of place, for then Christ would be absent from heaven, since nothing moves without leaving the place whence it moves. Not by creation, which is inconceivable. Conversion only remains, which is, in fact, the mode. No substance of the bread is left (after consecration).^{*} Since with the body and the blood the soul and the Deity are inseparably united, all these things are in the sacrament; not by virtue of consecration, but by concomitance; so that the whole Christ is in the sacrament.[†] And He is so, not merely under either species, but, after fraction, in each particle of the bread, however small; for consecration affects the whole mass, and it is not necessary to repeat it over each fragment.[‡] It will be seen that while by the Council many practical abuses were reformed, the doctrine of Rome in the Eucharist is substantially that of the schoolmen; almost in the letter, and certainly in the spirit. And the same may be said of some recent treatises in our own Church on the subject.[§] They are simply an exposition of the scholastic, that is, the Romish, doctrine, as will be evident to everyone who compares the two. The foregoing somewhat dry and thorny discussion may be useful, if it serves to exhibit the sources, character, and object of these treatises.

The practical results of the doctrine of transubstantiation, as taught by the Church of Rome, are such as might be expected. Since Christ is present in the Eucharist, independently of the use, it follows that *all who eat the bread, whether worthy or unworthy, are equally partakers of Christ*, though not of the spiritual benefit; they receive the *res* though not the virtue of the sacrament. Though destitute of the Spirit of Christ, and with sin reigning in the heart, they are brought into union with Christ; than which a more unscriptural notion can hardly be conceived. The union becomes a physical one, of neutral effect, supernatural but not sanctifying. It reminds us of the corresponding tenet, that regeneration may exist, even in an adult, without a moral change. The Anglican Church teaches otherwise: 'They that are void of a lively faith,' however they may 'press with their teeth' the consecrated bread, 'are in no wise partakers of Christ' (Art. xxix.). On the supposition that John vi. refers to the Eucharist, Christ's

actio per quam panis desinit esse non terminatur ad nihil, sed ad aliquod; annihilatio autem est actio quæ terminatur ad nihil. Bellarm., *De Euch.*, L. iii., c. 18.

^{*} *De Euch.*, xxxvii.

[†] *Ibid.*, xxxiii.

[‡] *Ibid.*, xxxv., xxxvi.

[§] See, *e.g.*, the late Archdeacon Wilberforce's book, *passim*.

words are inconsistent with such a notion: 'He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath eternal life': but of the wicked and unbelieving it cannot be said that they have eternal life.

The adoration of the host is another consequence of transubstantiation. If Christ is present under the elements, worship is due to Him in that state; and not merely the hyperdulia of the Virgin, or the dulia of the angels and saints, but Latreia, the highest form of worship, due to God alone. T. Aquinas argues that the substance of bread and wine cannot remain after consecration, because 'this would be inconsistent with the adoration of Latreia,' which the Church prescribes (III. Q. lxxv., A. 2). The Council of Trent endorses and expands this statement: 'No doubt remains that the faithful, according to the custom always prevalent in the Church, are bound to show their veneration towards this sacrament by the worship of Latreia. Especially should they do so at the annual festival (*corpus Christi*) which is celebrated in its honour, and in processions in which it is borne through the public streets.*' The concluding act of the Romish ritual is to elevate the host in what is called a monstranz, a small receptacle surrounded by a glass or crystal image of the sun with rays: at the moment of elevation the worshippers bow the head, and if military men are in the church they present arms.

The reservation of the host stands in a similar connection. Justin Martyr, describing Christian worship in his day, informs us that the deacons carried portions of the bread to those who from sickness or other causes could not attend.† They were considered as virtually a part of the congregation. In this there was nothing superstitious. But it appears from Cyprian's account of a miraculous cure connected therewith that it was common to carry home a portion of the consecrated bread, not for the use of the sick, but for solitary communion, or as an amulet against spiritual and bodily danger.‡ Penitents, in danger of death, received the viaticum, brought to them, no doubt, from some neighbouring church where the host was preserved for this purpose. The Council of Trent sanctions this kind of reservation. It anathematizes those who hold it unlawful to reserve the host *in sacrario* (a vessel on the high altar), and who maintain that it should be distributed immediately after consecration to those present; or who forbid its being carried with due honour to the sick. It is obvious that the practice rests on the supposition that Christ is in

* Sess. xiii., c. 5.

† Apol. Maj., 87.

‡ Cum quedam arcam suam, in qua Domini sanctum fuit, manibus indignis tentasset aperire, igne inde surgente deterrita est ne auderet attingere. De Laps.

the element, independently of the use. The excessive scrupulosity shown lest any portion of the bread or wine should fall to the ground is founded on the same supposition.

The *withdrawal of the cup from the laity*, of all Romish usages the most plainly repugnant to Scripture, and unwarranted by antiquity, is traceable directly to the doctrine of concomitance, which is itself a part of transubstantiation. Since the communicant under one species loses nothing by the withdrawal of the other, the question became one of order and expediency. There was more danger of spilling the wine than of dropping the bread; and accordingly, in some churches the bread was steeped in the wine, in others the wine was conveyed into the mouth through a pipe. So late, however, as the eleventh century communion under both kinds was the practice. Alexander of Hales seems to have been the first who openly maintained that it should be left free to the laity to receive or decline the cup. He was followed by the schoolmen. T. Aquinas decides in favour of what he calls 'the usage of many churches,' on the ground that thereby profanation of the sacrament is more likely to be avoided. To the objection that the sacrament is thus mutilated he replies that its perfection consists not in the use but in the consecration; and, moreover, that the priest who is bound to communicate under both kinds does so in the name, and as the representative, of the whole body of communicants.* The Council of Constance (1415) decreed formally that the cup should be denied to the laity. Yet, conscious, apparently, of the lack of either Scripture or Patristic authority, the Tridentine Fathers declined any positive decision on the subject, recommending that it be referred to the Pope for settlement.† Modern Romish theologians, such as Möhler, do not hesitate to express a wish that the laity should be permitted an option in the matter.‡ All the Reformed Churches agree with our own that the 'cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay people; for both parts of the Lord's sacrament, by ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike' (Art. xxx.).

It is almost unnecessary to observe that none but a priest can consecrate, and by consecration change the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. Hence he is said *conficere sacramentum*. His lips alone can pronounce the mystic form, 'This is My body,' on which the change follows; he alone can offer up Christ for the sins of the living and the dead. This power, coupled with that of the keys, or absolution, are the two pillars

* P. iii., Q. lxxx., A. 12.

† Sess. xxii, Dec. Final.

‡ Symbolik, § 34.

on which the sacerdotal system of Rome rests. What a mass of error they can and do sustain the history of that Church furnishes abundant proof.

§ 100. *The Mass.*

According to the Council of Trent, the Eucharist is not merely a sacrament, to be partaken of by the faithful, but a propitiatory sacrifice which the priest offers up on behalf of the living and the dead. Our Lord, it is alleged, agreeably to the prediction that He should be a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec (Ps. cx. 4), since a priest must have a sacrifice to offer, instituted, at His last passover with His disciples, a perpetual sacrifice, to be a representation of that offered on the cross, and a repetition of it too, so far as an unbloody sacrifice can be of a bloody one. At the supper He offered Himself under the species of bread and wine; a sacrifice which did not supersede that about to be offered on Calvary, and yet was to continue in the Church to the end of time, and to be of propitiatory virtue.* On the same occasion, He who was Himself on that occasion both Priest and Sacrifice, delegated the office of priesthood to the Apostles and their successors, by the words 'Do this' (*Hoc facite*). This is that new Passover which takes the place of the old, of which the sacrifices of the law were the types, and which the prophet Malachi predicts should be celebrated in every place among the heathen (Mal. i. 11). More explicitly: the same Christ is therein contained, and sacrificed *incruente*, who sacrificed Himself on the cross *cruente*; and they who approach with due preparation of heart thereby obtain mercy from God; who, appeased by this propitiation, forgives venial sins, and confers that grace and gift of penitence which leads to the sacrament of penance, whereby mortal sin, as distinguished from venial, is forgiven.† It is one and the same Victim that was offered on the cross and is offered in the Mass, one and

* Sess. xxii., c. i. The Council, after describing the sacrifice of the Mass as 'a representation' of that offered on the cross, takes care to add that it has a real propitiatory efficacy: Quo illius (the sacrifice of the cross) salutaris virtus in remissionem eorum quæ a nobis quotidie committuntur peccatorum applicaretur. Some modern writers adopt one-half the Romish teaching, viz., the representative element, rejecting the other, the propitiatory, which implies an actual sacrifice.

† That is, the Eucharist by its own inherent virtue only procures remission of venial sins; as regards deadly sin, another sacrament, that of penance, is provided for its remission, and the office of the Eucharist is to *dispose* towards the due reception of this latter sacrament. Non operatur sacrificium sufficienter et immediate, neque est proprie instrumentum Dei ad justificandum. Id quod docet Conc. Trid. ubi dicit per hoc sacrificium peccata etiam ingentia dimitti; quia Deus hoc sacrificio placatus gratiam et donum poenitentiae concedit, per quod homo peccator ad sacramentum (poenitentiae) accedere velit, et per illud justificetur. Bellarm., De Mis., L. ii., c. 4.

the same Priest who officiates, but in the latter through a human priesthood ; only in the mode of sacrifice a difference exists. The sacrifice is available for the sins not only of the living but of the dead in Purgatory, as Apostolic tradition teaches. As regards the departed saints, Masses may be celebrated in memory and honour of them, but no sacrifice is offered *to* them ; the priest does not say, I offer this sacrifice to thee, Peter or Paul, but while he gives thanks for their final victory, he implores their patronage, and their intercession on our behalf.*

It has already been pointed out that the first Jewish converts, whether Apostles or others, were not likely, as long as the temple stood, to set up a propitiatory sacrifice as part of Christian worship ; and, in fact, that the synagogical form of worship, providentially appointed to receive into itself the Christian, excluded all such offerings, as it did a human priesthood. The Levitical ritual, in actual possession of the ground, and not yet abrogated by any act of Providence, must have indisposed such converts to establish anything resembling it in their Christian synagogues. Yet, as time went on, and the teaching especially of St. Paul began to exercise a predominance in the Church, the question might occur to the Jewish Christians whether, if the legal sacrifices should come to an end, it would be proper or allowable to supply the deficiency by something corresponding, in the Christian Church.† The Epistle to the Hebrews is a summary of Divine instruction on this point, evidently intended to prepare the way for the impending dissolution of the Mosaic economy. The Hebrew Christians were warned that the ceremonial law, having served its purpose, though still in existence, was ‘decaying and waxing old,’ and might be expected, before long, ‘to vanish away’ (Heb. viii. 13). It was no longer needed, because its appointments, in themselves only typical, had been fulfilled in the Anti-type. The Priesthood of Christ, after the order of Melchisedec, was not merely to have no connection with the Aaronic priesthood (Heb. vii. 13), but it was not to be exercised on earth either personally or by delegates (viii. 4) ; but in heaven, in the presence of God, for us (ix. 24). And as regards sacrifice : the expiatory *death* of Christ, suffered once for all, is never to be repeated. ‘Every’ (human) ‘priest standeth daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices which can never take

* Conc. Trid., Sess. xxii., cc. 2, 3. Comp. Cat., C. T., De Euch., lxxvii., lxxviii.

† The doubt may seem less improbable when it is remembered that by some modern writers, who hold a literal restoration of the Jews to Palestine, the restoration of the temple and its sacrifices is not thought inconsistent with conversion to Christianity.

away sins: but this Man, after He had offered one Sacrifice for sins for ever, sat down on the right hand of God^{*} (x. 11, 12). If the Levitical sacrifices had been thus perfect, 'would they not have ceased to be offered'? (*Ibid.*, 2). The other and the proper function of the priesthood, viz., to sprinkle the blood on the mercy-seat, is actually discharged by our great High Priest, and will never cease: He ever liveth to make intercession for us (ix. 24; vii. 25). Whatever be the meaning of the passage Heb. ix. 11-14, the office described is not that of slaying the victim, but of presenting the blood. The word 'offer' may apply to either function; an ambiguity which has sometimes been taken advantage of, to establish the doctrine of a perpetual *sacrifice* in the Church.† Christ perpetually pleads, and in this sense offers, the virtue of His atonement; but the sacrifice on Calvary, whether in a bloody or an unbloody form, is not to be repeated. Inasmuch, however, as sacrifice is an act, on the part of the offerer, either of surrender or of thanksgiving, the Apostles do employ terms borrowed from the typical dispensation, but in a purely figurative sense. Christians are 'a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices' (1 Pet. ii. 5); such as the presenting of their bodies 'as a living sacrifice, a reasonable service' (Rom. xii. 1), or the sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving, and of Christian benevolence (Heb. xiii. 15, 16). St. Paul calls his self-surrender to the service of Christ a drink-offering poured out (Phil. ii. 17); the gift of the Philippians 'an acceptable sacrifice' (Phil. iv. 18); the conversion of the Gentiles an 'offering up' of them pleasing to God (Rom. xv. 16). In no instance, even in this figurative sense, are these terms applied to the Eucharist. Heb. xiii. 10 is not an exception. To discuss the meaning of this difficult passage at length would be out of place here; it may be observed, briefly, that to establish an allusion in it to the Eucharist it would be necessary to prove that the word 'altar,' or an equivalent term, is applied in this Epistle, or in the New Testament, to the sacrament; that the doctrine of later times, not fully recognised in the Church till the twelfth century, viz., that Christ is offered up afresh at each celebration, can be traced to the Apostolic age; and that there is no other satisfactory explanation to be given, which is by no means the case. As the sin-offerings on the great day of atonement were not to be eaten by the priests, but to be burnt without the camp, so, conversely, since Jesus, our sin-

* Comp. c. ix., 25, 26: 'Nor yet that He should offer Himself often, as the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with blood of others; for then must He often have suffered since the foundation of the world; but now once in the end of the world hath He appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself.'

† Wilberforce, *Euch.*, c. xi.

offering, 'suffered without the gate,' the beneficial participation of the atonement effected by that sacrifice belongs not to those who, rejecting the Gospel, seek to be justified by the law of Moses.* Such appears to be the design of the passage.

And for some time this figurative sense of the word 'sacrifice' was that intended by the early writers when they employed it. Barnabas (if the epistle bearing this name is that of the companion of St. Paul) speaks of the 'new law of Jesus Christ' as enjoining 'a human oblation'; which, as Waterland observes,† can only be understood of the offering of themselves by Christians, in St. Paul's sense (Rom. xii. 1), as distinguished from the legal offerings. Clement of Rome (A.D. 96) recommends due order, both as regards seasons and persons, in dedicating the offerings (*προσφορὰς*) and gifts (*δῶρα*) which the faithful laity presented at the Eucharist; and censures the deposition of bishops who had duly discharged this office.‡ To understand this language, we must remember that in the Apostolic Church the Eucharist was celebrated in connection with love-feasts, the materials for which were provided by the joint contributions of the congregation. When the Agapæ fell into disuse, the custom was continued of presenting oblations, as they were called, that is, bread and wine and the firstfruits of creation, out of which the portion needed for the celebration of the sacrament was taken, while the remainder was applied to charitable purposes. They were received by the bishop, or other ministrant, and set apart with prayer and thanksgiving, in the name of the assembled worshippers. These were the 'offerings' and 'gifts' to which Clement alludes; and (which is to be noted) they were presented previously to the act of dedication, called in later times consecration, by which the bread and wine of the sacrament were set apart. It is, to say the least, doubtful whether Ignatius, when he uses the word 'altar,' means the Lord's Table; but if so, it was not Christ whom he supposed to be offered on it, but the gifts of the faithful, which in St. Paul's sense were a sacrifice,§ or, rather, the piety which offered them was so. In process of time, not merely these offerings, but the whole service, including as well the prayer of consecration as that of thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστία*), the breaking of the bread, the pouring out of the wine, and the distribution, came to be called a

* See Bleek, Com., on this passage. The conclusion he arrives at is that by the 'altar,' the place where Jesus suffered, more particularly the cross itself, is meant.

† On Euch., c. xii.

‡ Ad Corinth., cc. 40-44.

§ Ad Ephes., 5; Philad., 4. The word 'altar,' as used in the epistle Ad Trall., 7, seems to signify the Church rather than any special rite of worship: 'He that is within the altar (*θεσιασθηριον*) is pure; he that is without is not so.' Comp. Ad Mag., 7.

sacrifice; and as long as the prominent idea expressed therein was the thankfulness of the communicants for the mercies of redemption, and the surrender of themselves to the service of God, there was nothing unscriptural in it. A gradual change, however, was the consequence of these incautious expressions. To the service itself an inherent value began to be attached; it was held to be the pure offering of which Malachi had prophesied; it received the name of the unbloody sacrifice, not merely as distinguished from that of the cross, but from the bloody sacrifices of the law; the bread and wine of Melchisedec were declared to be types of the sacramental elements. The sacrificial character of the rite, as distinguished from the sacramental, assumed a prominence which is very visible in the writings of Irenæus* and Tertullian,† and still more so in those of their successors. Yet, in Tertullian especially, the figurative sense on the whole maintained its ground. By Cyprian the foundation of the sacrificial character of the Eucharist, viz., the proper priesthood of Christian ministers, as distinguished from the priesthood of all Christians, was laid, and the indeterminate statements of his predecessors reduced to a consistent theory. According to this Father, the ministers of Christ discharge the same offices, and are invested with the same privileges, as the Jewish priesthood under the older economy. Let the following passages suffice. Alluding to the schism in his see, which resulted in the appointment of a rival bishop, Cyprian observes that ‘there can be but one altar, and one bishop;’ and asks, ‘How can they escape the judgment of an avenging God who heap reproaches not only on their brethren but upon the priests (*sacerdotes*), upon whom God’ (under the law) ‘was pleased to bestow such honour, that whosoever refused obedience to the priest for the time being should be put to death?’ ‘Heresies,’ he continues, ‘spring from not recollecting that in a Church there can be but one priest (*sacerdos*), and one judge, who for the time being is the Vicar of Christ. Can that man think that he has communion with Christ who separates himself from the communion of Christ’s clergy and people? He wages war against the Church, against the ordinance of God . . . not knowing that he who thus opposes himself to the Divine ordinance shall experience the Divine chastisement of his temerity. Thus it was

* *Ecclesiæ oblatio, quam Dominus docuit offerri in universo mundo, sacrificium reputatum est apud Deum, et acceptum est ei. Non genus oblationum reprobatum est; oblationes enim et illic, oblationes et hic; sacrificia in populo, sacrificia in ecclesia; sed species immutata est tantum. Adv. Hær., c. xviii., 1, 2.*

† *Nonne solennior erit oblatio tua si ad aram Dei steteris? Accepto corpore Domini et reservato utrumque salvum est, et participatio sacrificii et executio officii. De Orat., c. 19.*

that Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, intruding themselves into the priest's offices, received the just reward of their deed. Thus, too, King Uzziah, attempting, contrary to the Divine law, to burn incense upon the altar, was struck with leprosy.* Since priesthood and sacrifice are correlative terms, if the Aaronic priesthood is continued in the Christian Church so must some real sacrifice be found in it: and since the legal sacrifices, not even excepting the peace-offerings, were propitiatory, of this character must the Christian sacrifice be. In the Eucharist this sacrifice was discovered by all the great writers of the Church after Cyprian's time until the Reformation. But where was the victim? 'behold the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for a burnt offering?' (Gen. xxii. 7). There was a gap in the theory; and it was filled up by the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in His body, and, by virtue of concomitance, His soul and Deity—that is, the whole Christ—in the sacrament. In proportion as transubstantiation was worked out to its final results in the eleventh century, under the treatment of Anselm and his contemporaries, so did the doctrines of a human priesthood and a propitiatory sacrifice in the Mass advance *pari passu*, until they appeared in their full proportions and connection in the decisions of the Council of Trent.

An esteemed writer of our Church has done his best to explain the strong statements which abound in the Fathers on this subject.† He has proved that they occasionally employ the term sacrifice, as the New Testament does, in a figurative sense, but not that in connection with the Eucharist they do not use the word literally; still less does he explain why they should speak of this sacrament as they do, in language so unwarranted by Scripture, and so liable to misconstruction. Can Cyprian be supposed to mean nothing more than the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or the oblations of the faithful, or the surrender of the heart to God, when he prescribed that no presbyter should take the office of guardian to the children of a deceased brother, under the penalty, in case of disobedience, that 'no offering should be made for him' (the deceased transgressor), 'nor any sacrifices offered for his repose'?‡ Or Ambrose, when he remarks that though Christ Himself does not now seem to offer, yet on earth He is offered when His body is offered; and again, 'When we sacrifice' (celebrate the Eucharist) 'Christ is present, Christ is slain'?§ Or Augustine himself, when after arguing truly that the one

* De Unitat. Eccles.

† Waterland, *Euch.*, c. 12.

‡ Epist. 67, Ad Cler.

§ On Psalm xxxviii., and Luke, c. i. Quoted by Bellarmine, *De Mis.*, L. i., c. 15.

sacrifice of Christ has taken the place of all the sacrifices of the Old Testament, he goes on to say that 'this sacrifice is His body which is offered' (in the Eucharist) 'and ministered to the communicants'!* Nothing is gained to the cause of truth by attempting to impose a sense on the Fathers, which only partially represents their real meaning, a meaning which is confirmed, if confirmation be needed, by the language of the ancient liturgies, even the earliest that have come down to us, such as the Clementine and that of St. James. Whatever they may have suffered from interpolation of a later date, these remains sufficiently indicate the popular view of the Eucharistic service in the third and fourth centuries. It can hardly have been a recent innovation when the Clementine liturgy habitually calls the Eucharist 'the holy mysteries' a 'sacrifice,' and the celebrant bishop a 'high priest.† Nor can the still stronger expressions that occur in that of St. James be regarded otherwise than as a superstructure on an ancient foundation; *e.g.*, when the priest proclaims silence and holy dread, 'while Christ our God is brought in to be slain and given for food to the faithful,‡ or implores the Divine favour while 'with fear' and trembling he approaches the holy altar to offer up this awful unbloody sacrifice for his own and the people's sins.§

As soon as the sacrificial, as distinguished from the sacramental, character of the Eucharist was established, the practice of private masses gained ground in the Church. Traces of a doctrine of purgatory are found in Augustine, and he does not hesitate to console the friends of those who had died in communion with Christ and the Church, with the hope that prayer, and especially the celebration of the Eucharist, on their behalf might be beneficial to them; and this, not merely as augmenting their bliss, but as inducing God to deal with their sins more leniently than they deserved.|| Since the dead cannot communicate, except in spirit, it was plainly the sacrificial virtue of the ordinance which Augustine had in view, as, indeed, appears from his connecting with it the remission, in part or wholly, of the sins committed in this life. Similar celebrations, and with the same object, were customary at the anniversaries of the death of the martyrs, which were observed with great solemnity. At first it

* De Civ. Dei, L. xvii., c. 20. Comp. De Octo. Dulcit., Quæst. 4: Neque negandum est defunctorum animas pietate suorum viventium relevari; cum pro illis sacrificium Mediatoris offertur, vel eleemosynæ in ecclesia fiunt.

† See this liturgy in Hammond, Liturgies, Oxford, 1878. Comp. Apost. Const.: Μετὰ ταῦτα γενέσθω ἡ θυσία· καὶ ὅταν ἀνεκθῇ μεταλαμβάνετω ἡ κοίτη τῆς καθ' ἑαυτὴν τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώματος. L. ii., c. 57.

‡ 'The Great Entrance,' Hammond, p. 32.

§ 'Prayer of the Veil,' *Ibid.*, p. 39.

|| Serm. 172, 2.

was the martyrs themselves who were supposed to receive benefit therefrom ; but since this seemed to compromise their dignity, in process of time they were invested with the office of intercessors with God, that the offerings of the worshippers, especially that of the Eucharist, might be accepted.* The multiplicity of occasions on which the Eucharist was celebrated, the erection in the churches of private shrines or altars dedicated to some apostle or saint, the magical character which the ordinance assumed (it was a *μύησις* or initiation into the Christian mysteries, a solemnity to be shuddered at, φοβερά θυσία),† all combined to deter the laity from communicating, except as spectators. It was too formidable a service for ordinary Christians to take a part in, and was the privilege of those only who had reached an extraordinary degree of sanctity.‡ Consequently the number of spectators, especially at the daily celebrations, began to fall off. Chrysostom, in a well-known passage, complains of the scanty attendance in his time : ‘In vain is the sacrifice daily offered, in vain we stand at the altar. Nobody takes part in it.’§ But for a sacrifice, as distinguished from communion, it was sufficient if the priest alone officiated, and this eventually became the custom. This is the origin of private masses. An effort was made to save the idea of communion by representing that the priest was acting as a public person, and offering on behalf of the whole Church,|| but on the popular mind so refined a conception would have little effect. It is not improbable that in the Church of Rome there would be few, if any, lay communicants were it not for the ecclesiastical injunction that once a year at least the laity should actually communicate. Practically, it may be said, the Apostolic conception of the Eucharist as a coming together of Christians to break bread, in commemoration of the death of Christ, has in that Church disappeared.

It was the work of the schoolmen to frame a scientific basis for the popular system of the Church, as it existed in their day.

* As Steitz (Herzog, Art. Messe) remarks, the ancient form, Annuenobis, Domine, ut animæ famuli tui Leonis prosit hæc oblatio, was exchanged for, Ut intercessione beati Leonis hæc nobis prosit oblatio.

† Ἰκετεύσωμεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἵνα ἀφέσῃως τυχόντες τῶν πλημμελημάτων διὰ τῆς μνήσεως ἀξιωθῶσι τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων. Clementine Liturgy.

‡ Such, in our own Church, among the lower orders, is the view commonly entertained of this sacrament.

§ Hom. 3, in Ephes., No. 4.

|| Missa Catholicorum nunquam est privata actio sacerdotis, sed semper est communis toti ecclesiæ, quia a communi ministro pro communi omnium utilitate offertur ; proinde, semper est in Missa communio ecclesiæ, si per communionem intelligas fructum communem sacrificii. Bellarm., De Mis., L. ii., c. 10. Bellarmine, however, allows that a Mass in which there is communion as well as sacrifice is a more perfect one. *Ibid.*

Materially they had little to add to this system. According to T. Aquinas, the priest is constituted a mediator between God and man,* and alone has power to consecrate the elements, and by consecration to transubstantiate them into the body and blood of Christ (*perficere sacramentum*). This power he receives at ordination, which, as a sacrament, impresses an indelible character on his soul; which character, however, is a mystical, not a moral, grace; it is one which the immorality of the priest does not affect, because his office is not personal but ministerial; he acts merely as the representative of Christ.† The Eucharist is both a sacrifice and a sacrament; a sacrifice inasmuch as Christ is therein offered, a sacrament inasmuch as Christ is therein received; as a sacrifice it is propitiatory (*habet vim satisfactivam*).‡ As a sacrifice, too, it can profit those who do not partake of it (the absent and the departed), since it can be and is offered for their spiritual benefit.§ If it be objected that such a celebration is only an imperfect one, it must be remembered that the perfection of the Eucharist depends on consecration, not, as in baptism, on the use of the sacrament, a privilege which belongs to the Eucharist alone.|| T. Aquinas, however, retains the distinction between representation and fact; the Eucharist, he observes, is a representative image of the passion of Christ, and Christ therein is sacrificed in the same sense in which the altar is an image of the cross, and the celebrating priest an image of Christ; that is, we do not speak literally when we say Christ is therein slain, but in a figure, as when, looking at the pictures of Cicero or Sallust, we say: This is Cicero, that is Sallust.¶ The inconsistency of making the same transaction both an image and a reality is obvious; the picture of Cicero never can be really Cicero; but it does not seem to have been noticed by Thomas, for in immediate juxtaposition to the representative view occurs the statement: 'As often as the commemoration of the passion of Christ is celebrated, the work of our redemption is carried on;' that is, a real propitiatory sacrifice for sin is offered.**

* Sacerdos constituitur medius inter Deum et populum suum. Sum. Theol., P. iii., Q. lxxxii., A. 3.

† *Ibid.*, A. 1, 5.

‡ *Ibid.*, Q. lxxxix., A. 5.

§ *Ibid.*, A. 7.

|| Perfectio hujus sacramenti non est in usu fidelium sed in consecratione materiae. P. iii., Q. lxxx., A. 12. The importance of this canon to the sacrificial theory may be seen in the use which Archdeacon Wilberforce makes of it, *Euch.*, cc. i., vi. T. Aqu. is supposed to have first enunciated it. The Protestant principle that Christ is present only in *usu sumentium* is anathematized by the Council of Trent, Sess. xxii., Can. 4.

¶ *Ibid.*, Q. lxxxiii., A. 1.

** Albert the Great, the master of Aquinas, had anticipated this objection to the doctrine of his scholars. *Dicendum, quod immolatio nostra non est tantum representatio sed immolatio vera; i.e., rei immolatæ oblatio per manus*

The question of private Masses, that is, those in which the priest alone celebrated, Thomas passes over in silence; nor, indeed, was there any necessity for him to discuss it. If it be once granted that the Eucharist is a propitiatory sacrifice, offered to God, the lawfulness of private Masses follows; for, as Bellarmine remarks, 'to a sacrifice, as such, it is of no moment whether few or many, or none, are present and communicate, since it is a matter between the priest and God; the priest can offer for the people in the absence of everyone but himself.*' Incidentally, however, T. Aquinas, by his admissions, must rather have promoted than dissuaded from the practice. He accepts Augustine's distinction between a mere sacramental partaking, such as that of Judas Iscariot, and a profitable reception, which only the pious enjoy; and not less so, that Father's maxim: *Crede et manducasti*. Two things, he observes, in the reception are to be distinguished, the sacrament itself and its beneficial effect. It is most perfectly received when both are combined. It may happen, however, that there may exist an impediment (*e.g.*, mortal sin) to this effect, and thus an oral manducation may not be a spiritual one; just as in baptism some receive only the sacrament (water), others that and also the inward benefit. Since the Eucharist is not, like baptism, of absolute necessity, and impresses no character, the outward reception may, in extreme cases, be supplied by the intention and desire, as is the case even in baptism (*baptismus fluminis*).† The distinction is in itself just and valuable as a counterpoise to the doctrine of the *opus operatum* prevalent at the time in the Church; but coupled with the exaggerated language of the liturgies on the awful character of the Eucharist, it may have given encouragement to the abstention of the laity from communicating, and so to the introduction of private Masses. Nor would this tendency be effectually counteracted by the admission that such an intended Eucharist, or baptism, is inferior in effect to an actual reception.‡

The decrees of the Council of Trent, which merely reproduce the doctrine of the schools on this subject, present many difficulties. We are assured, over and over again, that the sacrifice of the cross and that of the Mass are one and the same; it is the same victim (*hostia*) that is offered, the same priest that officiates; only in the Mass it is an unbloody sacrifice, and Christ who

sacerdotum. Comm. in 4 sent. dist., 13, A. 23. Quoted by Steitz, Herzog, Messe. Comp. Conc. Trid., Sess. xxii., Can. 3.

* De Miss., L. ii., c. 9.

† P. iii., De Euch., Q. lxxx., A. 1.

‡ Nec tamen frustra adhibetur sacramentalis manducatio, quia plenius inducit sacramenti effectum ipsa sacramenti receptio quam solum desiderium. *Ibid.*

offered Himself on the cross now does so through the agency of human priests. But if in either case the sacrifice is really propitiatory, to which form of it are we to ascribe the atonement for the sins of the world of which Scripture makes mention? The question is not an easy one to answer, and Bellarmine is sensible of this, for after laying down that the sacrifice is the same, he proceeds to specify some points of inferiority in that of the Mass as compared with that of the cross. The former is propitiatory only in the sense of *impetration*; for Christ in it cannot, and does not, now suffer as He did on the cross, or make a full satisfaction for sin; He *impetrates* from God spiritual gifts on behalf of His Church.* He therein *applies* to believers the benefits of the sacrifice of Calvary.† Secondly, from its impetratory character, in which it resembles prayer, it requires worthiness, though not of the priest yet of the offerer who presents it through the priest; with the sacrifice of the cross it was otherwise (Bellarmine does not explain how this observation applies to private Masses). Thirdly, and principally, the sacrifice of the Mass is of finite value, as appears from its being often repeated; whereas that of the cross is of infinite value, and being so is not literally repeated (Heb. x. 2). Why this difference of value should exist Bellarmine confesses is not easy to discover. He attempts to account for it by observing that on the cross Christ was offered in His natural humanity (*esse naturale*), in the Mass only in His ‘sacramental body,’ and that in the former He Himself was the offerer, while in the latter He acts through the priest.‡ Such are the straits to which this acute defender of his Church is reduced in his attempt to reconcile the alleged identity of the two sacrifices with a distinction between them. As regards that favourite mode of explanation, that the sacrifice of the Mass is a means of *applying* that of the cross to individuals, we may surely ask, how can one sacrifice *apply* another, especially that with which it is substantially identical? A sacrament may, in some sense, apply a sacrifice, but a sacrifice cannot apply itself. The truth is, as has been already observed, a fallacy lurks in the word ‘offering’ as used by Bellarmine, and other writers of similar views: it is made to signify both sacrifice and intercession.§

* *Sacrificium Missæ dicitur propitiatorium quia impetrat remissionem culpæ, satisfactorium quia impetrat remissionem pœnæ; meritum quia impetrat gratiam benefaciendi et merita acquirendi.* De Mis., L. ii., c. 4.

† *Ibid.* Comp. Wilberforce, Euch., c. 11: ‘That acceptance which Christ purchased through the sacrifice of the cross He applies through the sacrifice of the altar.’

‡ De Miss., L. ii., c. 4.

§ ‘Such is the principle upon which the Holy Eucharist is called a sacrifice. It rests upon the necessity of our Lord’s intercession: upon the truth that

What does 'impetration' or 'application' mean as applied to the *sacrifice* of the Mass, but that it is not really a sacrifice ; it is not the sacrifice, but the priest that impetrates or applies, he pleads the merit of the sacrifice as a ground for expecting favours from heaven, but the sacrifice, an act of a different character, does not plead its own efficacy. The Epistle to the Hebrews establishes the essential distinction between the two things, the sacrifice and the application of it. The High Priest slew the victim on the day of atonement, but the impetration, or application, began when he brought the blood into the holy of holies and sprinkled it on the mercy seat. It was in discharging this office that he acted as the real mediator between the sinful people and God ; for though on this occasion the slaying of the victims was deputed to him, this was an exception, and as a rule the act of sacrifice was performed not by the priest but by the offerer. So in the antitype, the sacrifice was offered on the cross, but the impetration belongs to Christ not suffering, but risen and ascended, our advocate with the Father, ever living, not to offer a *juge sacrificium* in heaven, however spiritually interpreted, but to make intercession for us. If all that is meant by propitiation is impetration, as Bellarmine asserts, the Protestant insists on the latter as strongly as the Roman Catholic does ; only, with the Epistle to the Hebrews and the whole of the New Testament, he refers the impetration not to an ordinance of the Church, as if any ordinance had an inherent virtue to remit sin ; nor to a human priest, the representative of Christ ; but to Christ Himself, whose one sacrifice the Church pleads not only in the Eucharist but in every prayer offered up through Christ to God ; to Christ Himself, who impetrates, as our ever living High Priest, that the ordinances may be channels of grace to us, and that those prayers may be heard. And it is Christ Himself, and not any human mediator, who conveys to the suppliant the assurance that his confession of sin and prayer for forgiveness are heard ; Christ Himself by His Divine vicar, the Holy Ghost, who by the spirit of adoption certifies to the believer that his iniquity is taken away, and his sin covered. The doctrine of the Mass, that the sacrifice of the cross is applied only through the Church and not

the Church's services cannot be effectual unless they are *presented* by its Head : that His *intervention* is essential, not only because He communicates grace to His members, but because His members cannot be accepted *save* through the *sacrifice* of Himself.' Wilberforce, *Euch.*, c. 11. The confusion here is evident between 'sacrifice' and 'intercession,' or intervention : the words are used interchangeably. Yet they differ as the slaying of the victim by the high priest on the day of atonement differed from the sprinkling of the blood on the mercy-seat.

by the apprehensive faith of the communicant or the suppliant, is but an instance of the principle that lies at the root of Roman Catholicism and its kindred systems, viz., that Christ has retired from the active personal administration of this dispensation, delegating His offices, priestly, prophetic, and regal, to the visible Church, *i.e.*, the priesthood, through which, and through which alone, He operates. Christ Himself is ever impetrating for us; Christ (as His Divine vicar the Holy Ghost) is ever assuring us of the fruits of His impetration. But, according to Romish teaching, Christ not merely regenerates, impetrates, absolves, teaches, through the Church, but sacrifices Himself *de novo* for the remission of sin, and in private Masses for the sins of individuals, living or departed, through the Church, that is, through its priesthood. Thus, at every step, the Church intervenes between the soul and the Saviour. It is to be regretted that some of our own divines have used incautious language on this subject. Thus Bishop Cosin writes: 'Neither is the sacrifice of the cross, as it was once offered up there, *modo cruento*, so much remembered in the Eucharist (though it be commemorated) as regard is had to the perpetual and daily offering of it by Christ in heaven in His everlasting priesthood; and thereupon was, and should be still, the *juge sacrificium* observed here on earth, as it is in heaven, the reason which the ancient Fathers had for their daily sacrifice.*' The language is ambiguous; does the Bishop mean by the term 'offering' sacrifice, or intercession? It is to be presumed that he does not mean that Christ is perpetually offering Himself as a sacrifice in heaven; but only that He devotes Himself continually to God to be offered on earth by the hands of the priest; that the *juge sacrificium* is not an actual but a consenting one. Even so, the assertion is without Scripture warrant. Where does Scripture give the slightest hint of any such perpetual sacrifice, even in intent, going on in heaven? Rather we may ask, where does it not emphatically repudiate the notion? Christ appears in the presence of God for us; that is the sum and substance of the revelation. No other sacerdotal function is He ever spoken of as discharging, no other is needed.

By some, indeed it may be said by many, writers a middle course is adopted on this subject. The sacrifice of the Mass is rejected, as well it may be, as unscriptural, but the Eucharist is held to differ from other ordinances of the Gospel as being a special 'representation' to God of the sacrifice of the cross, and so to contract a sacrificial character. If by this is meant merely that every private prayer, every act of public worship, is offered

* Quoted by Wilberforce (c. xi.) as from Cosin; but it is ascribed by others to Bp. Overall.

through the merits and mediation of Christ, it is nothing but the truth; but it is so obviously nothing but the truth that a doubt arises why it should be insisted on. No Christian ventures to approach the throne of grace except through Christ. But the fact is that representation insensibly passes into presentation, and what is intended is that in this sacrament a special presentation of the sacrifice on Calvary is made. The question at once occurs, By whom is it made? By the whole congregation or the celebrating minister? If by the latter alone, then the minister becomes invested with a sacerdotal character, and we have one half of the Romish doctrine without the other half. We have no sacrifice, but we have a mediating, impetrating priest. He 'presents' on behalf of the congregation what the congregation only presents through him. That is, the perfection of the sacrifice once offered for sin is not, as it is in the Mass, invaded, but the intercessory function of Christ is so; it is transferred to the human celebrant, who, not as the mouthpiece of the congregation, but as an official mediator, stands between the worshippers and God. The priest is there, but there is no sacrifice; and the theory is not merely an unscriptural but a mutilated one.

It is worthy of remark that in the Greek Church, however it may agree with the Romish in holding the Eucharist to be a sacrifice, private Masses are unknown. Each principal Church has but one altar, with a kind of credence table on which to make the necessary preparations; and if the Mass is to be celebrated in neighbouring chapels, a consecrated cloth is used for an altar. On Sundays and festivals no more than one celebration of the Mass is permitted.

§ 101. *Benefits.*

We must here set aside the particular instances in which the Eucharist is alleged, rightly or wrongly, to have been the means of procuring special mercies or averting special calamities. The Fathers quote many cases of magical or miraculous efficacy of this kind. Augustine tells us of a landed proprietor in his diocese whose house was infested with evil spirits, to the great injury of his servants and cattle. He summoned one of the presbyters to pray that they might be expelled. The presbyter 'offered there the sacrifice of the body of Christ, praying as earnestly as he could that the plague might cease; forthwith, through the mercy of God, it did cease.*' The Eucharist was held to be a charm against apprehended dangers, temporal and spiritual.† It was

* De Civit. Dei, L. xxii., c. 8.

† Quos excitamus et hortamur ad prælium, non ut inermes et nudos relinquamus, sed protectione sanguinis et corporis Christi muniamus; et cum ad

resorted to in times of public calamity—war, famine, pestilence, etc. It may be asked how it came to be regarded in this light, so entirely without precedent or warrant from Scripture? What has been observed in the last section supplies the answer. The Mass, Bellarmine says, is a propitiatory sacrifice rather in the sense of moving God to grant what the offerer prays for than as atoning for sin; it is a sacrifice of *impetration*, whereby benefits of all kinds are to be obtained.* In fact, he makes impetration the specific property of this sacrament.† Hence it is that the Council of Trent does not ascribe to it the remission of all sin, but only of venial; atonement for mortal sin and absolution from it belong to the sacrament of penance; which might be thought superfluous if the Eucharist had the same power. Hence, too, it is that, under this aspect of the Mass, the *opus operantis*, the piety and devotion, of the minister comes into account; whereas as regards the *opus operatum* of transubstantiation, with its attendant sacrifice, no such qualification is needed. Since the sacrifice is here a prayer (*oratio realis non verbalis*—Bellarmine), its efficacy presupposes the worthiness of the offerer; which is not the case if it is regarded as purely propitiatory. Thus the Eucharist, in itself and apart from the prayers of intercession which usually accompanied the celebration, became an act of intercession with God, and the celebrant a priest. These prayers were natural and appropriate. The ancient liturgies contain intercessions for all sorts and conditions of men; prayers that the celebrant may be accepted, that the worshippers may find favour, that the whole service may be blessed; some before, some after consecration; but these are the petitions of the congregation, and the minister is only the organ of its addresses to God. In process of time the unbloody sacrifice, not the attendant prayers, became the prevailing plea with God, and the intercession of the priest superseded that of Christ.‡

In the remains of antiquity statements are frequently found that since Christ in this sacrament is present in His glorified humanity, our *bodies* in particular receive from that humanity a

hoc fiat Eucharistia ut possit accipientibus esse tutela, quos tutos esse contra adversarium volumus, munimento dominicæ saturitatis armemus. Cyprian, *Epist.*, L. iv.

* Jam vero, non solum propitiatorium sacrificium esse, ac pro peccatorum remissione offerri posse corpus Dominicum, sed etiam esse impetratorium omnis generis beneficiorum, ac pro iis etiam recte offerri, facile probari potest testimoniis Scripturæ et Patrum. De *Mis.*, L. ii., c. 3.

† Impetratio propria est hujus sacrificii vis, et efficientia. *Ibid.*, c. 4.

‡ It is in solitary masses that the true spirit of the Romish system is best seen.

vivifying influence, the seed of immortality.* This, if it means anything, must mean that in some mysterious manner we are actually made 'members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones' (Ephes. v. 30): and this, although the spiritual nature of the union in the Apostle's mind is placed beyond doubt by the illustration which he draws from the union of husband and wife; this relation is the closest of earthly ones, but it is in no sense physical: and although the resurrection of the body is ascribed by St. Paul, not to union with Christ's glorified body, but to the presence of the Holy Spirit in us (Rom. viii. 11). Or again, the Church is said to be the body of Christ because Christ in His humanity is really present in the Eucharist, and the Church therein partakes of His humanity; so that His body mystical (the Church) is 'the extension of His body natural,'† or in the incautious language of Hooker, 'God frameth the Church out of the very flesh, the very wounded and bleeding side of the Son of Man. So that in Him, according to our heavenly being, we are as branches in that Root out of which they grow.'‡ Surely it is but a play upon words to argue that because by a figure the Church is called in Scripture the body of Christ in reference to *Christ the Head*, therefore it is an emanation from His humanity: the Church is His body because from Him, *as the Head*, vital energy, the quickening and sanctifying grace of the Holy Spirit, proceeds, and brings each member into union with Him; not because sacraments are 'an extension of the incarnation,' and the partaking of them engrafts us into the incarnation. 'Christ is our life' (Col. iii. 4); on such passages as this is founded the inference that, especially in the Eucharist, the present life of Christ as the incarnate Son passes into the believer, and becomes the life of the latter; whereas all that is meant is that He is the Purchaser and Giver of spiritual life. The 'life' of Christ in His state of humiliation did not communicate itself to His disciples; nor does it, as far as we are told, communicate itself now, *simply as His life*, to those who are His; yet He is our life, because unless He had risen and ascended the gift of the Spirit could not have been ours. Such are specimens of what the noble figures of

* Wilberforce, *Euch.*, c. xii. It is to be regretted that in one passage of our communion service countenance seems to be given to this notion: 'that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His body, and our souls washed through His most precious blood.' How can the body of Christ, a real though a spiritual one, affect our bodies, except by a quasi-physical union? How can the blood, a material substance, affect the soul? If body and soul are taken for the whole man, and the body and blood of Christ for the virtue of the atonement, it is most true that every believer is cleansed and washed by the death of Christ; but the language is peculiar, and may give rise to erroneous theories.

† Wilberforce, c. xii.

‡ E. P., v., c. 56, 7.

Scripture have to suffer at the hands of mystical interpreters.* But the theory proceeds even further. Since in the Eucharist we are brought into union with Christ's humanity, and, by concomitance, His humanity is inseparably united to Deity, we, in fact, through union with Him, 'are engrafted into the Divine nature,'† we become gods. Such is the ultimate result of these speculations. They begin with a real presence of the incarnate Son in the Eucharist, the effect of consecration; partaking of the bread and wine, we are incorporated into the humanity of Christ; through the humanity we are engrafted into the Divine nature. The commemoration of the atonement, the real subject of this sacrament, is well nigh lost sight of. Salvation comes through the incarnation, not through the atonement. And the faith which is necessary to a beneficial reception is not that which apprehends the promise of forgiveness through the atonement, but either a passive acquiescence in the articles of the creed, or the belief of a real presence which because it eludes the senses, but in no other sense, must necessarily be an object of faith.‡

* It is to be regretted that the notion of the Jewish high priest's carrying to the mercy-seat, on the day of atonement, 'a life' in the blood instead of a symbol of death, has been in modern times revived. Thus, in an otherwise useful essay on the atonement in 'Lux Mundi,' it is said that 'the passages which speak of our salvation by virtue of Christ's blood refer, according to the Jewish conception of the "blood which is the life," not only, or even chiefly, to the blood-shedding in death, but to the heavenly "sprinkling" of the principle of life'; that is, the communication of spiritual life (quickening and sanctifying) by virtue of Christ's presentation of His blood in heaven. The leading passage in Leviticus xvii. 10, 11, does not contain the expression 'the blood which is the life,' but 'the life of *the flesh* is in the blood.' The blood circulating in the veins (sanguis) is, popularly speaking, 'the life'; the life of the animal may be said to be in the blood thus circulating; but when the blood is shed, becoming thereby not sanguis but cruor, no idea but that of death can be, or ever was, associated with it. What the high priest carried into the Holy of Holies—viz., a vessel of *shed* blood (cruor, not sanguis)—neither contained life nor was a symbol thereof, but was the evidence and symbol of a violent death which had been suffered; and the sprinkling of the blood was the *application* of that (typical) death to cover the sin of the people. The atonement consists of two parts: the death of Christ, and the presentation of that death by Christ in heaven to silence the accusation of the law; as the typical sprinkling silenced (typically) the condemning sentence of the two tables beneath the mercy-seat (Heb. ix. 4). 'Life' in this sense was, no doubt, the effect of the atonement, but not 'life' in the sense of quickening and sanctifying. The theory confuses the offices of the incarnate Son and of the Third Person (the Holy Ghost) in the economy of redemption.

† Wilberforce, *Euch.*, c. xii. *Comp. J. Damasc.*: μετὰ λήψιν δὲ λέγεται δι' αὐτῆς γὰρ τῆς ἰησοῦ θεότητος μεταλαμβάνομεν. Κοινωνία δὲ λέγεται τε καὶ ἔστιν ἀληθῶς διὰ τὸ μετέχειν αὐτοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς τε καὶ τῆς θεότητος. *De Fid. Orth.*, iv., c. 13. In the University of Oxford many years ago a sermon was preached on, 'I have said, Ye are gods' (Ps. lxxxii. 6); the argument being that through the Eucharist our mortal nature is deified.

‡ 'The benefit of this sacrament cannot be obtained without faith; seeing that it is only through faith that the inward part, the *res sacramenti*, can be

The question remains whether any, and if so what, spiritual benefits of a general kind are connected with the Eucharist. It is impossible to suppose that ordinances emanating from Christ Himself, and therefore of permanent obligation in the Church, can be mere symbols of spiritual truths: they stand on a different footing from Apostolical, or post-Apostolical, appointments, or adjuncts to the main service of human origin. Yet, as has been observed (§ 92), Scripture is reticent as to any special *grace* attached to either sacrament. The two main privileges of the Gospel are remission of sin and sanctifying grace; and it is doubtful whether, except as regards baptism, Scripture connects either of these great gifts of our Lord's Passion with sacraments. There are passages which associate baptism, though not exclusive of the Word and its operation, with 'washing away sin,' but none which make it a channel of sanctifying grace, however existing grace may be sealed, or strengthened, or perfected, by it. Sanctification is a gradual process, and therefore baptism, which can only be administered once, is not a fitting instrument for this operation of the Spirit; which, accordingly, in Scripture is usually connected with the ministration of the Word, which is a constantly recurring means of grace. So is the Eucharist capable of repetition; but no language is applied to it resembling that of St. Paul to the Ephesian elders, 'I commend you to God, and to the word of His grace, which is able to build you up'* (Acts xx. 32); while, as regards remission of sin, this gift is never attributed to it. The reason, surely, is not far to seek. Baptism is the sacrament of the *process* of regeneration, of the *application* of the work of Christ to individuals, under its twofold aspect of conversion and justification; the Eucharist is the sacrament of *that work itself*, of the atonement on which as a foundation the saving application rests, and without which it would be impossible. This sacrament, therefore, presupposes remission of sin as already (potentially) effected by the death of Christ, and already in actual possession on the part of the faithful receiver.

The very name Eucharist explains its object. It is neither a prayer for, nor a means of, forgiveness, but a thanksgiving for the blessing in actual enjoyment, and received by faith. It is a 'thankful remembrance of Christ's death and of the benefits we receive thereby.' And on this hypothesis our communion service

apprehended by the mind.' Wilberforce, c. xii. This is faith in the sacrament, not the justifying faith which apprehends Christ.

* Comp. 'Christ gave some Apostles,' etc. (all gifts or offices connected with the ministry of the Word) 'for the edifying of the body of Christ' (Ephes. iv. 11, 12). 'Desire the sincere milk of the Word, that ye may grow thereby' (1 Pet. ii. 2).

is constructed. The worshippers are supposed to be real Christians, in covenant with God, pardoned and accepted ; but to be sensible of those daily shortcomings which every Christian must confess and deplore. They are exhorted to confess these sins of infirmity, and, as in the Lord's prayer, to pray to God as children to a father for forgiveness. They are assured, after confession and presumed repentance, by the citation of certain 'comfortable words' of Scripture, of complete forgiveness. With the minister they are exhorted to give thanks unto God for the promises of the Gospel, which they profess it is meet and right to do. They draw near, then, as forgiven and reconciled children of God. *Sancta sanctis*, as the deacon in the ancient Church exclaimed when the celebration commenced. Either their faith in the promise does not convey full remission of sin (which no Protestant admits), and the Eucharist is necessary to supply the defect, or the Eucharist (that is, the reception) finds no unforgiven sin to remit. It seems impossible to escape from this alternative. If the communicant approaches with the consciousness of sin (whether venial or mortal is immaterial), unrepented of and therefore unforgiven, he is not a worthy communicant, and receives no benefit ; if through repentance and faith in the promises attached to faith, his sins, of whatever kind, are covered by the atoning blood, he does receive a benefit, but it cannot be remission of sin, which has already, and in the fullest measure, been vouchsafed. Although the object of Bellarmine, in treating of this point, is to prove the necessity of the sacrament of penance as a preparation for the Eucharist, his arguments are in themselves unanswerable. Baptism and penance, he observes, are directly connected with remission of sin, as the symbols themselves teach. The water in baptism signifies the removal of spiritual disqualification, the form in penance, *absolvo te*, though not in its nature material like water, yet operates as a kind of plaster, inferior to baptism in that it does not completely cleanse from all past sin, but, as it were, hiding and healing the scars and sores of post-baptismal sins ; whereas the symbol of the Eucharist is nutrition and growth, and these presuppose a healthy state of the organs whether bodily or spiritual.* The same acute controversialist, in answer to Chemnitz, urging the expression 'for the remission of sins' in the words of institution, remarks very properly that this expression belongs, not to the *receiving* of the elements, but to the body broken and the blood shed on the cross ; it was by these that remission was procured, not by the personal appropriation of this blessing in the sacrament. If, he continues, remission of sin is in any sense conveyed by the Eucharist, it can only be in the

* De Euch., L. iv., cc. 18, 19.

sense in which food expels bodily disease, viz., by strengthening the vital organs. The Eucharist, by infusing grace (*gratium gratum facientem*) debilitates the noxious effect of venial sin, and obliterates *unknown* mortal sin, and so renders the recipient more acceptable to God. But nothing of a *forensic* nature (which Protestants always connect with remission of sin) is conveyed by the Eucharist.* The suffrage of any adversary, when he is on the side of truth, is valuable. The Eucharist, therefore, does not convey, but presupposes, forgiveness of sin, and yet there is no ordinance of the Gospel which more directly refers to this gift. It is the very sacrament of the atoning blood of Christ. Again we endorse the Roman Catholic theologian's statement. 'If the Eucharist is said to be the New Testament, because it is a sign of the will of the testator, there remains no difficulty. For because it is a sign and representation of the death of Christ, it is also a sign of the will of the testator and of all the benefits promised to us; and so also of the remission of sins, so far as through it is represented the shedding of the blood of the Lord, on account of which all sins are remitted.'† So the case is, exactly. It is not a channel through which remission of sin is conveyed, but a representation of the fact which renders remission possible. It is the *verbum visibile* which proclaims the same atonement which the word does, but in a peculiar and impressive manner. The worshipper having received through faith in the word of promise forgiveness, and the witness thereof in his heart by the Holy Spirit, draws near and receives this holy sacrament to his comfort. What additional benefit comes to him thereby? He draws near because it is the command of Christ that he should do so; because therein he 'shows forth the Lord's death,' testifies to the Church that his hope of salvation rests on the atonement, and to the world that he is not ashamed of the cross of Christ; because this *verbum visibile* is also a making over to him individually what the word preached declares in general terms; because the ordinance is specially adapted to stimulate his love to the Saviour and increase his faith; because therein he realizes, as he does in no other Christian rite, his unity with all who love Christ. These are the benefits which he expects to receive, and does receive, from a worthy reception, but not incorporation into Christ's humanity, nor remission, in and by the act of reception, of forgiveness of sin. It is true that through the minister the communicants also pray that they 'may eat the flesh of God's dear Son Jesus Christ and drink His blood,' that they 'may be partakers of His most precious body and blood,'‡ figurative expressions, which some may interpret in one way and some in another.

* De Euch., L. iv., c. 19.

† *Ibid.*, c. 19.

‡ Com. Serv.

But there is nothing said of remission of sin by the act of reception. In a subsequent part of the service this expression does occur ('we humbly beseech Thee to grant that by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His blood, we and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins'), but with no particular reference to the sacrament. The prayer is no other than that in the Lord's prayer, 'Forgive us our trespasses,' no other than what the Christian, apart from the sacrament, puts up daily. If it be asked, why should the worshipper, before communicating, express himself as forgiven through faith in Christ, and shortly afterwards offer up a prayer for remission of sin, we reply that nothing is more common than such repetitions in prayer, and moreover, that the worshipper may be conscious of fresh sins of infirmity, in the very act of communicating or after it, which need renewed confession and forgiveness.

Waterland, to establish his argument that remission of sin is *conveyed* through the Eucharist,* has recourse to inferential modes of reasoning. It is natural, he observes, to ask, why should Scripture make a distinction in this point between the two sacraments?† If it teaches that baptism conveys this gift, why should not the other sacrament do so, which, more explicitly than baptism, is the sacrament of the atonement, and why is Scripture comparatively silent as to this effect of the Eucharist? He assigns various reasons for the fact, but they are drawn rather from the writings of the 'ancients' than from Scripture. He has a long chapter on 1 Cor. x. 16, etc. ('the cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?'), the object of which is to prove that the Apostle's expressions imply more than partaking of the visible elements, viz., a participation of what is meant by them, the passion and death of Christ and 'the reconciliation therein made.' Whoever doubted that? But the meaning of the sacrament or its symbolism does not determine the point, whether in and by the act of reception remission of sin is *conveyed*. We feed by faith on the body broken and the blood shed; we cannot, especially in this sacrament, help doing so; but whether the sacrament is a *channel* of remission, and not rather, as Protestants hold, the faith which lays hold of the

* Euch., c. 9.

† This argument may be commended to the attention of those who do not hold that the Eucharist conveys remission of sin. If it does not, why should baptism be supposed to possess the privilege? May not the passages which, no doubt, do speak of forgiveness in connection with baptism be so explained as to place the two sacraments on a level as regards this point?

promise, is another question. 'If anyone,' Waterland continues, 'should ask for a catalogue of those spiritual privileges, which St. Paul in this place (1 Cor. x. 16) has omitted, our Lord Himself may supply that omission by what He has said in John vi. For since we have proved that there is a spiritual manducation in the Eucharist with all worthy receivers, it now follows, of course, that what our Lord says in John vi. of spiritual manducation in general is strictly applicable to this particular manner of spiritual feeding, and is the best explication we can anywhere have of what it includes or contains. It contains: 1. A title to a happy resurrection; for such as spiritually feed on Christ, Christ will raise up at the last day. 2. A title to eternal life; for our Lord expressly says: "Whoso eateth My flesh, and drinketh My blood, hath eternal life." 3. A mystical union with Christ in His whole person; or, more particularly, a presential union with Him in His Divine nature, "he that eateth My flesh, etc., "dwelleth in Me, and I in him." But these are the *fruits* of Christ's atonement; the atonement gives us a 'title' to them, and nothing is said about the instrument of appropriation. In fact, the statement is nothing but an expansion of the language of our Church in the 'exhortation;' 'the benefit is great if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive that holy sacrament, for *then* we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ and drink His blood; then we dwell in Christ and Christ in us; we are one with Christ and Christ with us.' Then, but not thereby. At last Waterland comes to remission of sin, and here he is compelled to have recourse to inference. '4. In these are *implied* (though not directly expressed by our Lord in that discourse) remission of sins, and sanctification of the Holy Spirit.' Remission of sin may be (must be) *in* the Eucharist; sealed by it, symbolized by it, even conveyed by it in the same sense in which the preached word conveys it; but it does not follow that *by the act of reception* absolution is conveyed.

The truth is, that this valuable writer is uncertain on two points of doctrine, and the uncertainty is reflected in his discussion. He does not hesitate, contrary to every Protestant confession, to make justification capable of increase, and progressive; at least his language tends in that direction. At the close of chap. ix. we read: 'The true answer' (to the objection that the worthy communicant comes to the table already pardoned) 'is, that the grace of remission, or justification, is progressive, and may be always improving.' If, indeed, the writer merely means that our *assurance* of justification is capable of increase or confirmation, and not that a special gift of increase is infused in the Eucharist, he is in the right; but the expressions

are, to say the least, incautious. The other source of uncertainty is more latent. The Romish Church, in this point in agreement with Scripture, does not connect remission of sin directly with the Eucharist, and there is no necessity for her doing so, for in the sacrament of Penance she possesses the means of presenting her communicants fully cleansed from sin and prepared to receive the Holy Communion worthily. The absolution which the Protestant hopes for from the appropriation by faith of the 'comfortable words' of Scripture spoken by the minister (the so-called 'absolution' of the latter *precedes* in our service the act of communion), the Romanist assigns to a special ordinance, appointed, it is alleged, for this very purpose. So difficult was it for the leaders of the Reformation at once to free themselves from the bondage of ecclesiastical tradition that Luther, and even Melancthon, in their earlier writings, treated the *number* of the sacraments as a matter of subordinate importance, and in the apology for the Augsburg Confession Melancthon enumerates three: baptism, the supper of the Lord, and absolution* as a preparation for the Eucharist. As clearer light dawned upon them, absolution with the other four sacraments of Romanism was rejected, and in the Cat. Maj. of Luther only baptism and the supper of the Lord are held to be sacraments in the strict sense of the word.† In the Reformed confessions, our own included, no others appear. In our article on 'sin after baptism,' no ordinance of the Church is mentioned as a necessary channel of remission. Waterland, with all his merits, seems not to have fully grasped the import of the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith and its inconsistency with sacramental justification, and, like some writers of our own day,‡ to have been unable to under-

* 'Vere sunt igitur sacramenta, baptismus, cæna Domini, absolutio quæ est sacramentum pœnitentiæ.' Apol. Conf., c. vii.

† 'Superest ut de duobus quoque sacramentis ab ipso Christo institutis disseramus.' P. iv.

‡ 'The Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith is incompatible with any real belief in the validity of sacraments.' Wilberforce, *Euch.*, c. v. We are not surprised to meet with, in a following chapter (xii.), such statements as these: 'There would be no such cure for this evil' (post-baptismal deadly sin) 'as the analogy of the Christian covenant requires, unless God had left power to His Church to absolve all sinners. For by the Church's office, by the ministry of absolution and the power of the keys, the relation of man to Christ is renewed, even as it was originally bestowed in holy baptism. It was understood, of course, that repentance and faith, as well as confession, were needed on the part of the offender, but the idea that after the commission of deadly sin men might restore themselves to their position in the body of Christ by an act of their own minds' (lively faith) 'is wholly at variance with the belief of the ancient Church. This right cannot be regained by those who fall into deadly sin after baptism except through that authority which it has pleased God to entrust to His Church, and which is exercised

stand how post-baptismal sin, especially of a grave nature, could be fully remitted without the intervention of the Church, sacerdotal and sacramental. As a minister of our Church, he could recognise no sacramental rite for this purpose after baptism but the Eucharist; which, accordingly, he invests with a power of remission.*

As regards the other great Gospel gift, that of sanctifying grace, we cannot doubt but that the Holy Spirit makes use of the sacraments as of the Word to carry on His gracious work. Even if the sacraments were to us arbitrary appointments, if they were not a *verbum visibile* and full of meaning; yet since they are enjoined by Christ, obedience to the command must be in itself acceptable and warrant a blessing. But the question is whether Scripture connects *special* sanctifying grace with these ordinances, instructive and consolatory as they are, and especially with the Eucharist. None of the passages cited by Waterland (John iii. 5; 1 Cor. vi. 11; Ephes. v. 26; Tit. iii. 5) bear out his statement that 'they speak directly of the sanctification of the Spirit conferred in baptism.' They may contain allusions to baptism, and establish some connection of the Holy Spirit with that sacrament; but not (as indeed is evident) a continuous and progressive work of the Spirit, which cannot belong to an ordinance which occurs but once in the Christian's life. As regards the Eucharist in particular, John vi. and 1 Cor. xii. 13 ('we have all been made to drink into one spirit') are too doubtful in their reference and their meaning to establish the conclusion. Even if they refer to the Eucharist, they do not prove that *special* grace is conveyed by it. So much, indeed, is at length acknowledged by the learned writer who cites them: 'We do not confine God's grace to the sacraments, neither do we assert any *peculiar* grace, as appropriate to them only; but what we assert is, some peculiar *degree* of the same graces, or some peculiar certainty, or constancy, as to the effect, in the due use of those means;† all which may be admitted, if by the word 'peculiar' is meant an increase of grace, such as in prayer also we ask and expect. But if this is all that is intended, viz., that an increase of sanctifying grace

through priestly absolution.' As the writer could find in the church to which he then belonged no sacrament of penance, and no rule that persons guilty of deadly sin should confess to the priest and be officially absolved by him (though in certain cases it recommends the penitent to seek from his minister 'ghostly counsel and advice,' and absolution 'through the ministry of God's word'), it is not to be wondered at that he transferred his allegiance to another church in which he found both.

* 'Notwithstanding what I here said with respect to *Eucharistical absolution*,' etc. Euch., c. ix.

† Euch., c. x.

may be expected in the due use of the sacrament, we may ask why the writer should have devoted a long chapter to enforce a point which all Christians acknowledge? Seeing that the Eucharist is not a mere rite of the Church but the appointment of Christ Himself, who can doubt but that it is a seal and token of spiritual union with Him, and an eminent means of ordinary sanctifying grace? The interests of the Church require that from time to time the Christian should testify his continuance in the mystical body of Christ, and especially, whatever measure of sanctity he may have attained, his continued dependence on the atonement as the ground of justification before God. The symbolism, even more than in baptism, appeals to the imagination, and reminds us of what we owe to the Saviour and to our Christian brethren. We transfer ourselves in thought to the passover-chamber; the communicating church represents the assembled Apostles; Christ, by His vicar the Holy Ghost, is present, according to promise, with His guests; we hear the same words which He used in announcing His approaching death; we break the bread and drink the wine in memory of that death; we rekindle the consciousness of brotherly union with all the members of His mystical body; the 'exceeding great love of our Master and only Saviour' is brought home to our minds with greater power than by any exposition of the Word; we publicly glory in the cross, and renew our vows of obedience. Since the Holy Spirit bears witness to our adoption 'with our spirit' (Rom. viii. 16), that is, employs the various faculties of the soul—reason, conscience, the affections—to carry on His work, we need no elaborate Scriptural proof that we have in this sacrament an extraordinary means of sanctification, the sacrament speaks for itself. Unquestionably grace is therein increased and faith confirmed. More is not told us; more we do not need. 'Why should any cogitation possess the mind of a faithful communicant but this: O my God, Thou art true! O my soul, thou art happy!'

§ 102. *The Reformers.*

The controversy of Luther with Carlstadt on the real presence (see § 98) spread from Saxony to Switzerland, and Zwingli the Luther, and Œcolampadius the Melancthon, of the Helvetic churches, took an active part in it. A war of pamphlets between Zwingli and Luther ensued; the former denying, the latter asserting, a corporal presence, and came to an end in 1528, with the ordinary result that neither was convinced by the arguments

* Hooker, E. P., v., c. lxvii., 12.

of the other. One consequence, however, was that Zurich thenceforward assumed an independent and important place in the history of the Reformation, and the distinction between the Reformed and the Lutheran doctrine became fixed with greater precision.

With respect to Zwingli, justice has not always been done to this Reformer. A man of action rather than of speculation, in whom intellect predominated over sentiment and imagination, he is not to be compared with Luther in power to sway the minds of men. His merits, however, are very great. If not the first to suggest, he was the first to bring out into clear light the figurative sense of the copula in the words of institution; and Martensen, Lutheran as he is, only renders due homage to the Swiss Reformer when he says: 'The whole Protestant Church unites in accepting Zwingli's "this signifies," not "this is";' adding very truly, 'that his merits in establishing the symbolical view of the elements have not as yet received due recognition.'* As compared with Luther, too, and even Calvin, his exegetical tact led him to perceive that the words of institution can only refer to Christ in the state of humiliation while on earth, not to Christ in His glorified body. It must be acknowledged that his view of the sacraments seldom rises above their being signs of spiritual blessings and tokens of Christian fellowship; their use, he argues, is rather for the Church than for the receiver. 'The sacraments are signs or ceremonies, I take leave to say, whereby a man proves to the Church that he is either a candidate for Christ's service, or an enlisted soldier, and their end is rather to satisfy the Church concerning thy faith than thyself. For if thy faith needs a ceremonial sign to confirm it, it is not faith.'† Elsewhere, however, he speaks of them as signs of inward grace. 'As baptism signifies that Christ has washed us in His blood, and that we ought, as Paul teaches, to put Him on; that is, live according to His example; so the Eucharist also signifies both that we embrace all the blessings which through Christ have been bestowed upon us, and that we ought to cultivate towards our brethren the same love which Christ has shown towards us.‡ It is possible that his premature death on the field of battle, 1531, prevented a revision of views defective rather than erroneous. As he left them they are defective in recognising the offices of the sacraments in making over the common objective salvation to individuals, and in conveying, not special, but ordinary sanctifying grace. Union with Christ, an expression in itself scriptural though sometimes

* Dogmatik, § 262.

† De Vera et Falsa Rel.

‡ De Fide Eccles. Expos. Quoted by Möhler, Symb., § 31.

associated with erroneous theories, is not mentioned by this Reformer in connection with either baptism or the Eucharist.

At the other extreme of Protestantism stands Luther. Towards the close of his career he defended a doctrine as regards the real presence which it requires some dexterity to distinguish from that of Rome; but (and this is an essential point of difference) he did not make the change in the elements depend on sacerdotal consecration, but on the words of Christ Himself, This is My body, etc., repeated at each celebration. Nor, though he holds a corporal presence, does he define it exactly as the Council of Trent does. He does not teach a change of the substance of the bread and wine into that of the body of Christ (transubstantiation); nor consubstantiation, if by that term is to be understood either a mixture of the substance of the elements with the substance of Christ's humanity, or a local and natural juxtaposition of the two substances; nor impanation, or a local inclusion of the body in the bread and of the blood in the wine, as in receptacles.* What union, then, remains? A sacramental one; which (as we have seen, § 97) amounts to a confession of ignorance as to the particular mode of union. Christ's humanity is in union with the bread and wine really, but sacramentally; and so as that all who partake of the elements, whether worthy or not, partake by oral manducation of the body and blood. With the bread and wine the body and blood are offered to, and are received by, those who eat and drink unworthily, though to their own condemnation. Such are the statements of the Formula Concordiæ, the authentic exposition of Lutheran doctrine, so far as it possesses any such. It differs from that of the Reformed confessions in that it makes the elements and the body and blood of Christ (that is, Christ Himself) identical. *Manducatio oralis* and *manducatio impiorum* are the distinctive tenets of Lutheranism. It may be observed that this whole debate about reception by the unworthy is one that has no meaning, and ought never to have been introduced. The Eucharist was instituted only for the worthy, only for those who trust in and love the Saviour; none others have any right to it, none

* The Lutheran theologians repudiate the terms 'consubstantiation' and 'impanation.' 'Monemus autem denuo propter calumnias adversæ partis nos nec impanationem nec consubstantiationem nec ullam aliam physicam vel localem præsentiam statuere.' J. Gerh., Loc. xxii., c. 11, § 98. Comp. Cotta's note: 'Nec consubstantiationem, quam vocant, admittendam esse censent. Diversimode quidem vocabulum hoc accipi solet. Interdum enim *συσσωματικόν*, seu localem duorum corporum conjunctionem, interdum autem utriusque corporis commixtionem, denotat, quâ panis cum corpore et vinum cum sanguine in unam substantiam seu massam coalescere fingitur. Sed in neutra significatione ecclesiæ nostræ tribui potest monstrosum consubstantiationis dogma, cum nec localem istam duorum corporum conjunctionem, nec commixtionem quandam panis et corporis Christi vique et sanguinis Christi statuunt Lutherani.' On impanation, see also Cotta.

others were contemplated by Christ in the appointment. By St. Paul the idea of any one's partaking of Christ in this sacrament without lively faith would have been treated as a monstrosity. The Corinthians (1 Cor. xi.) are supposed to be real Christians; but Christians who failed in rendering due respect to so sacred an ordinance.

In the year 1509, at Noyau in Picardy, was born Jean Calvin, or Caulvin, in Latin Calvinus, a theologian who in after-years exercised a paramount influence over the churches of the Reformed family, our own included.* While pastor and professor at Strasburg, about the year 1540, Calvin published a tract on the Lord's Supper which contains substantially the view from which he never departed; but it was not until the disputes between the adherents of Luther on the one side, and Zwingli on the other, grew to a height, that he took an active part in the controversy. The position which he assumed was that of a mediator between the contending parties; an office for which he was eminently fitted both from the structure of his mind and from his public reputation. He did not succeed in uniting the two great branches of the Protestant communion on the question in debate; but he proposed a view which was accepted generally by the Swiss churches, and which from them passed, in the main, into the confessions of the Reformed churches throughout Europe. Since it is by no means easy to understand, it will be proper to let him describe it in his own words. The Institutes, Calvin's replies to Westphal and Hesshus, and the Genevan Catechism, will furnish the materials. 'A twofold error is to be avoided, the divorcing of the symbols from the mystery attached to them, and the making them all in all so as to destroy or obscure the mystery. That Christ is the Bread of Life all admit, but all are not agreed as to the mode of participating of Him. There are some who consider eating His flesh and drinking His blood as merely believing upon Him; my own opinion is that something more mysterious is intended thereby, viz., that we are spiritually quickened by a real partaking of Himself, and not merely by an act of the mind. For just as not

* Attempts have been made, notably by Archbishop Laurence in his Bampton Lectures (1804), to extenuate this influence, and to ascribe a Lutheran origin to our formularies; but the fact is, that if we except the topic of the Lord's Supper and Calvin's tenet of reprobation, little difference existed between the German and the Swiss Reformers in matters of doctrine. On election, free-will, preventing grace, justification, etc., Lutherans and Reformed were agreed. It is significant that the Archbishop of Cashel does not touch upon the doctrine of the Eucharist, the real point of difference. To have done so would have refuted his theory; for our Articles on that subject are decidedly Calvinistic. That our formulary belongs, not to the Lutheran, but to the Reformed type, appears from two characteristics generally found in the latter: the exclusion of the apocrypha from the rule of faith, and an enumeration of the books of canonical Scripture

the looking at, but the eating of, bread supports the body, so must the soul, in order to be spiritually nourished, be fully and truly partaker of Christ. No doubt this is practically the eating of faith, for we can imagine no other; but there is a difference between their and my mode of expression. To them to eat is merely to believe, whereas I say that by faith the flesh of Christ is eaten, because by faith He becomes ours, and this eating is the effect of faith; or if you would have it more plainly expressed, they think that the eating is faith, I that it results from faith. The verbal difference is indeed slight, but as regards the matter it is considerable. For example, when Christ is said to "dwell in our hearts by faith," no one imagines that nothing but faith is meant, but rather an excellent effect of faith.* Again: 'Christ, as the Word of God, existed indeed from all eternity, and as such is the source of life to all creatures; but in condescension to sinners He became flesh, and thus brought Himself into close proximity to us. Nay, the flesh which He took He renders life-giving, that by it we may enjoy the gift of immortality. "The bread which I will give is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world"; in these words we are taught not merely that He is life in that He is the eternal Word, but that by assuming our nature He communicates to His flesh a virtue which from it flows over into us. Thus the Apostle declares the Church to be the body of Christ, He being the Head from which all the members derive life (Ephes. i. 23); and, in still more striking language, that we are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones.† Further on: 'To sum up, our souls are fed by the flesh and blood of Christ, as bread and wine sustain our bodily life; and although it may seem incredible that at such a distance (of heaven from earth) the flesh of Christ should come down to us so as to become spiritual food, let us remember how vastly the secret virtue of His Holy Spirit surpasses our comprehension. What our minds, then, cannot compass, let faith accept, viz., that the Holy Spirit unites things which are locally separate. Now, the sacred communication of His flesh and His blood, whereby Christ transfuses His life into us not otherwise than as if it penetrated to the bones and marrow, He witnesses to and seals in the sacrament, and not by an empty sign, but by the energy of the Holy Ghost, fulfilling what He promises. As regards transubstantiation, we reject it because we believe that the natural body of Christ is in heaven, to remain there until He comes again; nor do we need it, because by the agency of the Holy Spirit, the bond of our union with Christ, we become partakers of the body and blood of Christ, that is, Christ Him-

* Inst. iv., cxvii., §§ 3-5.

† *Ibid.*, § 9.

self, as St. Paul teaches in Rom. viii.* Once more: 'We reject consubstantiation which involves the ubiquity of Christ's natural body, bringing it down from heaven, to be inclosed in the bread and wine wherever the sacrament is duly celebrated. We, on the contrary, hold such a presence of Christ as neither derogates from His glory by circumscribing Him in earthly elements, nor is inconsistent with the attributes of a real natural body, of which it is plain that ubiquity cannot be predicated. They are in error who can conceive no presence of Christ except in the bread; for so they leave no place for the secret operation of the Holy Ghost, which unites us to Christ, not by bringing Him down from heaven, but by raising us up to Him where He is.† To Westphal he writes: 'I have always maintained that the body of Christ is exhibited to us in the sacrament efficaciously but not naturally, as regards its virtue, but not as regards its natural substance. I affirm that by that body which hung upon the cross our souls are spiritually fed, no less than our bodies are by the bread and wine. The difficulty touching local absence I thus solve: Christ indeed does not change His local habitation, but He descends to us virtually (*vi, virtute, efficacia*). I leave Christ in possession of His heavenly throne, and am content with the secret operation of His Spirit, whereby He feeds us with His flesh. As regards the unworthy, Christ's body was never intended *canibus et porcis*.' And to Hesshus: 'They' (the Lutherans) 'accuse us of rationalism. What can be a greater miracle than that our immortal souls should derive life from flesh in itself mortal? that the flesh of Christ should transmit its virtue from heaven to us? If it be asked whether we enjoy this benefit apart from the sacrament, we reply, undoubtedly. By faith, too, we feed on the body and blood of Christ, but in the sacrament we have a visible pledge of the blessing, and it may be a fuller enjoyment of it. Are we not in like manner cleansed by the blood of Christ apart from baptism? But the sign was added to confirm our faith.' Once more, in the Genevan Catechism we read: '*M.* Are we, then, in the sacrament fed with the body and blood of Christ? *P.* That is my opinion. For since in Him is our salvation, it is necessary that He Himself should become our own. *M.* Did He not give Himself to us when He died for our sins? *P.* Certainly, but that is not enough; what we want is to receive Him now. *M.* What special advantage have we in the sacrament, over and above what we receive by faith? *P.* This, that the participation by faith is here confirmed and increased. *M.* What do the bread and wine represent? *P.* The body of Christ once offered, and

* Inst. iv., cxvii., §§ 10-12.

† *Ibid.*, §§ 16-33.

His blood once shed, and now spiritually received. *M.* The Supper, then, was not instituted to repeat the sacrifice of Christ? *P.* No, only that we may feed on the body and blood once offered. *M.* To sum up, then, you say there are two things in this sacrament: the visible signs, and Christ who invisibly feeds our souls? *P.* Exactly so; and not only that, but that our bodies too receive a pledge of their resurrection, since they partake of the symbols of life.' What Calvin rejects may be hence gathered without difficulty. In common with all Protestants, he says nothing about the necessity of consecration, that term being understood to imply sacerdotal intervention: the words of Christ at the institution ought to be used, and by them the bread and wine are set apart to holy uses, but they do not effect any inward change in these elements. That is, he rejects transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass. Nor does he, with the Lutherans, hold that Christ's natural body is, through the *communicatio idiomatum*, ubiquitous; it is, and remains, in heaven. Nor is it so conjoined with the bread and wine as to be partaken of equally by the worthy and the unworthy. Nor is there any physical admixture or transfusion of the body and blood into either our souls or bodies. But when he comes to explain what his own view is, considerable obscurity rests on his statements. The elements, he says, are not mere signs or tokens, as Zwingli, at least in his earlier teaching, maintained; but signs which convey what they signify, viz., the body and blood of Christ. Yet they do not convey it independently of the faith of the receiver; and, moreover, they do not convey it independently of the act of reception, it is in the *use* of the sacrament that the gift is conveyed. Not by oral manducation, as if it were inherent in the elements, does the gift pass; the bread and wine remain bread and wine throughout; but *simultaneously* with the *worthy* reception of the symbols Christ, and Christ in His humanity, is received as the food of the soul. This is the real point of difference between the Reformed and the Lutheran doctrine on the subject. According to the former, Christ does not communicate Himself until the moment of reception, and only if lively faith is found in the receiver; according to the latter, Christ is immanent in the elements, and is partaken of by all the communicants, whether with or without lively faith. This spiritual union with Christ is effected, Calvin continues, by the mysterious operation of the Holy Ghost, and not by mechanical manducation; which, of itself, proves that the unworthy do not enjoy it, for in none but Christ's living members (according to Calvin, the elect) does the Holy Ghost dwell. Faith is the *sine quâ non* of a beneficial reception, and yet faith is not exactly the same as the sacramental feeding on Christ; the latter is the effect of the

former. In the extract above quoted from the reply to Hesshus, Calvin admits that by faith, too, we feed on Christ, and apart from the sacrament; but still not mystically, as we do in the sacrament. And now comes the main difficulty. If Christ in His glorified body never leaves heaven, how is He present at each celebration? How does He feed us sacramentally with His flesh? The answer is, either that the Holy Ghost by His almighty power raises our souls to feed on Christ in heaven, or that by the same power an emanation or virtue from Christ's body above, a kind of sacramental duplicate, is brought down to us on earth. Calvin does not express himself uniformly on this point; but on the whole he prefers the former alternative, the ascent of the soul to heaven to feed on Christ there. Anyhow, it is, we see, the soul that feeds on Christ; the manducation is not oral, but spiritual; and yet the body shares in the blessing; Christ's flesh is life-giving, and His life communicated to us becomes the seed of immortality.

Calvin's exegetical tact seems for once to have here deserted him. He indulges in something like the paralogism which some modern writers employ, that because Christ's body is mentioned in the words of institution, and His Church is termed His mystical body, there must be a quasi-physical connection between the two, effected in and by the sacrament. Again, the Christ whom he supposes the believer to feed upon in the Lord's Supper is the glorified Christ; whereas the Eucharist is never spoken of in Scripture except in connection with Christ in His stage of humiliation. He is compelled to adopt the scholastic doctrine of concomitance, in order to make Christ's body and blood equivalent to the whole Christ, soul and Deity as well as body; whereas in the words of institution nothing appears but the separation of the two constituent elements of the physical organization, body and blood, that is, the approaching death of the Speaker. He speaks of the 'flesh' of Christ as life-giving, in spite of our Lord's warning that 'the flesh,' whether the body of His humiliation or His glorified body, 'profiteth nothing,' and His explanation that the strong figure which He had used in speaking to the Capernaïtes was to be understood as 'spirit and life,' that is, figuratively (John vi. 63). Calvin possibly might have replied that he, too, uses the word 'flesh' figuratively; but how can a figure give life, and especially to the body of the recipient? The resurrection of the body is in Scripture assigned, not to union with Christ's humanity, but to the indwelling of the Holy Spirit (Rom. viii. 11). Nor does 1 Cor. xv. 45, 'The last Adam became a quickening spirit,' lead to a different conclusion. The Saviour, on His ascension, if not immediately after His resurrection, became in His human nature fully glorified, the type and pattern of what

the Church will be at the resurrection of the dead ; and became, too, and not previously, the Author and Giver of the Holy Ghost, whose office it is to quicken the spiritually dead, and raise Christians when the 'voice of the Son of God' shall give the signal (John v. 25). In this sense it is true that 'as the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself' (*ibid.*, v. 26) ; but it is not affirmed that Christ's humanity in the sacrament, and imparted therein, is the elixir of immortality. Christ in His glorified humanity, Calvin tells us, is not present in the bread and wine by any word of priestly consecration, but, at the moment of reception, the Holy Ghost raises the believing soul to heaven to feed on Christ there. As we cannot suppose that the soul leaves the body and is locally transferred to where Christ is. and then returns to the body again, what is this but expressing in figurative language the same truth which those whom Calvin opposes as holding that 'eating His flesh and drinking His blood is merely believing on Him' (Zwingli and Ecolampadius) would have cordially accepted, viz., that to faith Christ in His atonement is in the sacrament present, and is spiritually appropriated by the faithful receiver? The usually clear intellect of the Genevan reformer moves, on this subject, in a cloudy and mystical atmosphere, and the speculations of the schools, as described in former sections, manifestly revive in him. Such, however, was his authority that the reformed Churches acquiesced in this middle position, or rather phraseology, between Luther and Zwingli. Thus the Scottish Confession expresses itself in language almost identical with that of Calvin : 'Although there is a vast interval of space between Christ's body in heaven and us on earth, nevertheless we firmly believe that the bread which we break is the communion of His body, and the cup the communion of His blood ; and that He dwells in us and we in Him, so that we become flesh of His flesh and bone of His bone ; and that as the Deity communicated life and immortality to the flesh of Christ, so His flesh and blood partaken of confer the same prerogatives on us. This union is effected by the operation of the Holy Ghost, who translates us above all terrestrial things that we may feed on the body and blood of Christ now in heaven.'* It may be thought that our own formularies are, to some extent, framed after the same model. They certainly are so rather than after the Lutheran. We are reminded of Calvin when we read, 'Then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ and drink His blood ; we dwell in Christ and Christ in us ; we are one with Christ and

* Art. xxi., Augusti. Comp. Conf. Helv., i., c. 21 ; Conf. Gall., xxxvii. ; Conf. Tetrap., xviii. ; Decl. Thorun, De sac. cœn.

Christ with us ;' or, 'Grant us so to eat the flesh of Christ and drink His blood that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His body and our souls washed through His most precious blood ;' or, 'What is the inward part and thing signified? The body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.' Yet the influence of Bucer and Œcolampadius is also visible. Art. xxii. takes care to add that 'the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten only after a heavenly, spiritual manner; and the means whereby the body of Christ is received and taken in the Supper is faith'; which last statement is exactly that which Calvin professes himself not quite in accordance with. To feed on Christ in the Supper by faith—what can this mean, divested of figure, but to believe that Christ became incarnate, died for our sins, and made thereby a perfect atonement for them; and in the sacrament to appropriate by faith these benefits? Fortunately for the peace of our Church, what is meant by 'the body and blood of Christ taken and received' is not defined; nor is the distinction between the 'natural' and the 'sacramental' presence stated; nor does the expression 'real presence' occur in either Articles or Liturgy. Nor do we meet there with any such physical conception as that of Calvin, that 'by a true communication of Himself in the sacrament the life of Christ,' as the incarnate Son, 'passes into us and becomes ours.' Upon this statement some remarks have been made in the last section. If it is not a mystical mode of expressing the Scriptural truth, that the Holy Ghost, 'the Author and Giver of (spiritual) life,' the active Administrator of this dispensation, proceeds from the Son as well as the Father, it amounts to a transfer of the special functions of the Third Person of the Holy Trinity in the economy of grace to the Second; and is not only without warrant of Scripture, but of dangerous dogmatical tendency. It virtually reduces the operation of the Holy Ghost to the incarnation, and to the miracle of the bread and wine becoming Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist.* Christ in the Eucharist becomes the 'Giver of life,' the Quickener, Sanctifier, Teacher of Christians; the Holy Ghost retires from the place and offices which our Lord Himself assigns to Him, and becomes but a subordinate Agent in

* See the theory fully developed in Wilberforce, *Euch.*, c. x. It is argued that because relations of the Holy Trinity *ad intra* exist antecedently to any work *ad extra*, the Son and the Holy Ghost are both concerned, in different ways, in the work of communicating spiritual life. Rather, it may be inferred from these internal relations, that *different* offices in the work of man's restoration belong to each Person. The schoolmen were better theologians when they laid down (1) that *opera Trinitatis ad extra indivisa sunt*, but (2) that redemption 'terminates' in the Son, sanctification (including the whole work of the *application* of redemption) in the Holy Ghost.

the economy of grace ; or, to express it more accurately, He dwells indeed in the Church, but only indirectly, viz., so far as He co-operated in the incarnation, and co-operates in the real presence in the Eucharist of the incarnate Son, from which presence life directly proceeds. But the first truths which a Christian child is taught to confess are, 'I believe in God the Son, who hath redeemed me and all mankind ; and in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me and all the elect people of God.' If the lesson is forgotten, or thrust aside by unauthorized theories, nothing but damage to the Church can ensue. The language of some parts of our Communion Service and of the Catechism, though, with Waterland, it may receive a Scriptural interpretation, seems to require revision.

ESCHATOLOGY.

‘CREDO in carnis resurrectionem et vitam æternam’ (Apostles’ Creed). ‘Iterum venturus est (Christus) in gloria, judicare vivos et mortuos. Expecto resurrectionem mortuorum et vitam venturi sæculi’ (Nicene Creed). ‘Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos. Ad cujus adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis, et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem. Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam æternam, qui vero mala, in ignem æternam’ (Athanasian Creed). ‘Ex cœlis autem idem ille’ (Christus) ‘redibit in judicium, tum quando summa erit in mundo consceleratio, et Antichristus, corrupta religione vera, superstitione impietateque omnia opplevit, et sanguine atque flamma ecclesiam crudeliter vastavit. Resurgent mortui, et qui illa die superstites futuri sunt mutabuntur in momento oculi, fidelesque omnes una obviam Christo rapiuntur in aëra, ut inde cum ipso ingrediantur in sedes beatas sine fine victuri. Increduli vero, vel impii, descendant cum dæmonibus ad tartara, ex tormentis nunquam liberandi’ (Expos. Simp. Conf. Helv., i.). ‘Credimus, ubi tempus a Domino præstitutum, omnibus autem creaturis ignotum, advenerit, numerusque electorum fuerit completus, Jesum Christum e cœlo, corporaliter et visibiliter, sicuti ascendit, venturum, ut se vivorum atque mortuorum judicem declaret; vetere mundo igne et flamma succenso, ut expurget eum. Tunc vero, omnes homines, quotquot jam inde ab initio mundi usque ad finem fuerunt, coram summo hoc iudice comparebunt. Omnes autem autem mortui e terra resurgent, spiritu cum corpore proprio, in quo vixerat, conjuncto atque unito. Qui tunc superstites erunt ictu oculi a corruptione in incorruptionem mutabuntur. Judicabuntur secundum ea quæ in hoc mundo egerent, sive bona sive mala’ (Conf. Belg., xxxvii.). ‘Omni malorum bonorumque discrimine remoto, omnes a mortuis resurgent. . . . Illo die Christus de universo hominum genere judicaturus est. . . . Post carnis resurrectionem nihil aliud fidelibus expectandum est nisi vitæ æternæ præmium’ (Cat. Rom. De Symb., cc. 12, 8, 13). ‘Docent quod Christus apparebit in consummatione mundi ad judicandum, et mortuos omnes resuscitabit, piis et electis dabit vitam æternam et perpetua gaudia, impios autem homines ac diabolos condemnabit. Damnant Anabaptistas qui sentiunt hominibus damnatis ac diabolis finem pœnarum futurum esse. Damnant et alios qui nunc spargunt Judaicas opiniones, quod ante resurrectionem mortuorum pii regnum mundi occupaturi sunt, ubique oppressis impiis’ (Conf. Augs., 17).

Most branches of philosophy, as well as forms of religion, indulge in speculations respecting the final issue to which the existing constitution of things is tending. The astronomer, after calculating the motions of the planetary system, frames theories about its duration, and the possible changes which fresh concentration or combinations of matter may produce. The geologist

reminds us that the present distribution of sea and land is not necessarily permanent, and that the central fires of the earth may, at some future time, burst the barriers which confine them, and involve everything in a general conflagration. Since matter, however, is indestructible, out of the ruins a new and fairer earth may emerge. The moral philosopher asks whether the prevalence of sin and misery in the world is always to continue, and imagines a Utopia in which the destiny of the creature shall be realized, and the perplexities of life solved. Even false religions have their Eschatology; the polytheism of ancient Greece its session among the gods, Buddhism its Nirvana, Mahometanism its sensual paradise. But Christianity is emphatically a religion of the future. As a scheme of redemption, it pledges itself to a restoration of the Church to more than was lost by the fall; and as a divine revelation it carries on its disclosures, step by step, until the end is reached. God 'hath begotten us again unto a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, to an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled reserved in heaven' for us, and 'ready to be revealed in the last time' (1 Pet. i. 3-5).

§ 103. *Death.*

In the vegetable, animal, and rational creation, death, or the dissolution of the connecting link between the visible organization and the life that sustains it, is a fact which meets our eye everywhere and at all times. When plants, from natural causes such as age, cease to derive nourishment from the circulating sap, they pass into shrivelled husks; when the lower animals reach their appointed limit of existence, they breathe out the impersonal soul with which they are endowed, and their bodies return to the dust; and ascending to man, the crown and glory of creation, we find the same law prevailing; in due time the union of the spirit-soul with the body comes to an end, and the latter is resolved into the elements with which its several parts have an affinity. As regards the immaterial part of man, what becomes of it is a question on which, before Christ brought life and immortality to light, philosophy was dumb, or could indulge only in vague hopes or surmises. Scripture, in declaring that, with the exception of the quick at Christ's second advent, death passes to and through all men (Rom. v. 12), sparing neither age, sex, or condition, adds nothing to our previous knowledge; what it does reveal is peculiar to itself, viz., the origin and eventual reversal of the law that pervades creation.

To account for the universal dominion of death is a problem which forces itself on every reflecting mind. The best uninspired

writers of antiquity are fain to fall back on the inherent limitations of the creature. Change and transformation pervade the material universe; things come and go; they appear for a time on the stage, and after having fulfilled their parts in the drama of life, they make room for their successors. In the case of human society, it is urged, such a succession is necessary to progress, which without it would be impossible or very difficult; for while each generation bequeaths on the whole some valuable lessons to posterity, it labours under its own share of imperfection, speculative and practical, which it also transmits. These seeds of error do indeed, in any case, reappear in the next generation; but they are more easily met and overcome, when not represented by living persons; and thus a vantage-ground is gained for still further advances. In short, in our present state, the law of mortality is a necessary and salutary one; as such it needs no further explanation; death is natural to man. As an attempt to remove difficulties, the theory may claim attention; but it fails to explain why mankind should be in a state to need so drastic a remedy; nor does it touch the question why the law should prevail over the irrational creation, the species of which, though physically improveable, seem unable to overstep the barrier between instinct and reason, or to enter into social combination with its elevating influences.

Scripture, whether its testimony be accepted or not, assigns a positive reason for the fact of a very different kind. St. Paul, in the passage cited (Rom. v. 12-19), not only recognizes the universal sway of death, but adds that the cause of its introduction was sin; 'as by one man sin entered the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned'; a statement which at once disposes of the supposition that death is a law of nature. It implies that death, in its present form at least, did not exist before the fall, and is not necessary to the conception of a finite material being: if it came in through Adam's sin, it would not have prevailed but for that sin. But further, it is described as a penalty, not of a natural but of a positive character; by one man, by the transgression of one man, it entered; it is the consequence of that primal prevarication by which man fell. The apostle refers to the account in Gen. ii. and iii., which contains all that we know on the subject. In chapter ii. 17, the penalty was to follow the sin immediately: 'In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt die'; but that the prophecy of a Redeemer of the seed of the woman might be capable of fulfilment, the sentence was suspended—only, however, suspended; and sooner or later, with some exceptions, every human being pays the last debt: 'Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.' In another sense, indeed, of the term death, the penalty was at once

inflicted. The word death in Scripture bears two distinct meanings, spiritual and physical.* Spiritual death is alienation 'from the life of God' (Ephes. iv. 18), through a sense of guilt and the aversion of a fallen nature; and this, as we learn from the narrative, manifested itself directly after the eating of the forbidden fruit. 'They knew that they were naked,' exposed without shelter to the condemning sentence of the law; and they withdrew as far as they could from the presence of the Being with whom they had hitherto maintained happy intercourse (Gen. iii. 7, 8). But spiritual death, if the poison runs its natural course unchecked by the divinely appointed antidote, terminates in final separation from God, or eternal death. This, however, is not a distinct kind of death, but only the consummation of spiritual; and, like the penalty of bodily death, did not at once take effect as regards our first parents or their posterity.

In the absence, then, of direct information on the subject, we may thus conceive of Adam's state before the fall; he was capable of death, but not subject to it, certainly not under its present aspect. Inherent immortality belongs only to the Creator; in this sense angels are not immortal, still less a being composed of soul and body; all created things depend for their continued existence on the will and sustaining power of God. But to a created being means may, under certain conditions, be vouchsafed of actual perpetuity; of a *posse non mori* if not of a *non posse mori*. In the case of the first man, he was liable to death in the same sense in which he was liable to temptation; he possessed *posse non peccare*, but not *non posse peccare*. Only the second Adam enjoyed this privilege. The condition of the first Adam's immortality was successful resistance to temptation; and the tree of life was the sacrament of his immortality. Adam, after the fall, was inhibited from the tree of life, because it would have been of no advantage to him and his posterity, but rather the reverse, to be exempted from physical death. The holy seed could not here have been made perfect; while the progress of sin in the seed of the serpent, uninterrupted by the stroke of death, might have issued in a veritable hell upon earth. Even the lives of the antediluvians were found too long for a sinful race; and it was not merely as a penal appointment, but as an act of the divine mercy that they were gradually abridged, until the ordinary limit of human life came to be that of the Psalmist (Ps. xc. 19). Specu-

* Hollaz (P. ii., c. 2, Q. 20) remarks that the common division of death into spiritual, bodily, and eternal is not quite accurate. Temporal is the proper opposite to eternal, and includes the two former divisions. Spiritual death issues, in the natural course of things, in eternal or final separation from God; but the latter is not different in *kind*, only in *degree*, from the former.

lations have been hazarded as to what the course of things would have been if man had not sinned. Where Scripture is silent, positive statements are out of place. But we may suppose that if even Eden was not to be the perpetual abode of sinless beings, but only the preparatory stage to a more perfect condition, the change would have been effected without any of the circumstances which render the death with which we are familiar formidable to nature. No diminution of strength, or other infirmities of age; no pain or sickness, the present precursors of death; no violent conflict with what Scripture describes as the last enemy, would have heralded or accompanied the transition to the heavenly paradise. Body and soul would, without separation, have reached the goal at once. By a gentle and blissful process, analogous to that by which the favoured Christians alive at the second advent will be prepared for glory, each generation, as it became ripe for the change, would have been translated. Not that even so man, sinless but unredeemed, would have reached the elevation which the members of Christ are taught to expect. The present 'vile body' is their disadvantage as compared with what we may surmise would have been the condition of Adam and his posterity if sin had not come into the world; their peculiar and surpassing prerogative is that, notwithstanding their present humiliation, they shall be raised, or changed, into the likeness of Christ's glorified body, 'according to the mighty working whereby He is able to subdue all things to Himself' (Phil. iii. 21).

'The wages of sin is death'; and the association of the latter with the former can never, in this life, wholly disappear. The antecedents and accompaniments of death are too striking and too solemn to allow us ever to forget its origin, or to be otherwise than formidable to nature. Even the most confirmed Christian may well shrink from it, and with St. Paul prefer 'not to be unclothed but clothed upon, that mortality may be swallowed up of life' (2 Cor. v. 3). In many instances, no doubt, death has been 'swallowed up in victory,' even on this side of the grave, and glimpses of the glory to come have been vouchsafed to the departing soul; but to make this the rule would be to divest the event of its penal character.* Death to every Christian is an enemy; encountered, indeed, in the assurance of present safety and eventual triumph, but still to be encountered. Even if Christ be in us, the body is liable to death because of sin (Rom. viii. 10); its dissolution is indeed the gate to endless life, but also the last

* Thus J. Gerh. : Mors non obtinet pristinam suam naturam et qualitatem quam extra Christi satisfactionem ac meritum habuit, sed mutatur piis et in Christum credentibus in suavem somnum et veræ vitæ exordium, in peccati exterminium et omnium malorum levamentum. Loc., xxvii., c. 2.

debt which nature pays to the violated law. Bunyan writes truly when he makes the river between this land and that afar off a dark and deep one, notwithstanding the divine presence and support. And our Church only expresses the cry of shrinking nature when it puts the prayer into our mouths, 'Suffer us not at our last hour for any pains of death to fall from thee' (Burial Service).*

INTERMEDIATE STATE.

The Church, in her creeds and leading writers, has never failed to insist on such topics as the second advent of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, and the final judgment. But the intermediate state, the state of souls between death and judgment, has not, except under the form of the doctrine of Purgatory, received a similar measure of attention. Traces of this doctrine distinctly appear in the writings of Augustine. This father opens the portals of heaven at once to eminent saints and martyrs, and, on the principle, *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*, consigns the rest of unbaptized mankind to endless torment, varying in nature and degree: between these extremes lies a class of Christians, members of the Church, but of imperfect sanctity: and to prepare these for the bliss of heaven, Augustine thinks it not improbable that an intermediate state of purgatorial cleansing may be provided.† Under the influence of Gregory the Great and Cæsarius of Arles, the surmises of the earliest fathers became a recognized dogma of the Church, with important results as regards its practical system. Alms, satisfactions, and masses, on the part of the living, were supposed to alleviate or shorten the pains of purgatory; departed saints became intercessors on behalf of their militant brethren on earth. Under this point of view, no doubt, the two divisions of Christ's mystical body vividly realized their connection with each other; but the interest in the subject there ended. Nor do the schoolmen supply the defect. Such questions as the number and nature

* The question why Christians should, as a rule, be still subject to death though redeemed by Christ, is best answered by others of a similar character—Why should the *fomes* of sin be allowed to remain in the regenerate? Why should Satan still have power to tempt to destruction? Why should the Christian's life be ordinarily one of sorrow and conflict? The kingdom of Christ is set up on earth, but it waits the consummation of all things for its full manifestation. It is the divinely appointed rule that Christians must know the fellowship of Christ's sufferings if they would reign with him in glory (Rom. viii. 17; Phil. iii. 10, 11).

† Tale aliquid etiam post hanc vitam fieri incredibile non est, et utrum ita sit quæri potest; et aut inveniri aut latere nonnullos fideles per ignem quandam purgatorium, quanto magis minusve bona pereuntia dilexerant, tardius citius que salvari. Euch., 68.

of the receptacles of departed souls, according to age or ecclesiastical position,* were more congenial to the schools than an examination of what Scripture on the whole teaches respecting the unseen world. In this state the Reformation received the topic, and practically ignored it. The doctrine of justification by faith swept away purgatory, and the abuses connected therewith; and the divisions of Hades, the two main ones excepted, also disappeared: but nothing took their place. Death was supposed to transfer the souls of the pious at once to the full bliss of heaven, and those of the wicked at once to the torments of hell. The intermediate state dropped out of view. And such, to this day, is the popular belief. In proportion as it is so, the second coming of Christ with its accompaniments no longer occupies the place which it does in Scripture. Death, not the final judgment, becomes the turning-point of human destiny. As a natural result, the field of New Testament prophecy remained uncultivated, or was given over to labourers in whom imagination predominated over judgment, and whose interpretations have been repeatedly disproved by the event. Really interesting questions touching the state of the disembodied soul were thought of no moment. Recent times have witnessed a revival of interest in the subject, and both in England and in Germany it has become a prominent topic of discussion. If on some points the conclusions arrived at are open to criticism; if the inquiry has not always been conducted in a spirit favourable to the attainment of truth; it yet remains an encouraging symptom that, in a materialistic age, the things unseen, and the future prospects of the Church, are engaging the thoughts and pens of competent writers.

Two preliminary remarks may be not out of place. While Scripture directs our thoughts fully and repeatedly to the second advent and the events that follow it, it is very reticent on the intermediate state, and indeed seldom directly refers to it. The veil is occasionally lifted in part; hints are given which it is our duty to gather up; but the knowledge thus conveyed is extremely fragmentary. Again, prophecy enters largely into these speculations, and it is one of its characteristics to clothe its announcements in symbolical language, and not to aim at exactness of discrimination between impending events and those of analogous character at a distance. In Old Testament prophecy, deliverances from temporal calamity and the glories of Messiah's kingdom often occupy the same line of vision; the rules of spiritual perspective

* They were described as five in number: Between the heaven of the blessed and the hell of the lost were inserted, the limbus of the souls of unbaptized children, that of the ancient Fathers of the world, and purgatory. T. Aqu. Sum. Theol.

are not always observed. So it may be with the prophetic element of the New Testament. For these reasons, nothing beyond the fundamental articles of the creed can pretend to more than probability. The Apocalypse, for example, opens up to us splendid prospects of the future of the Church; but the style of the book is highly symbolical, and it has hitherto refused to surrender its full meaning to commentators, however pious and learned. The same may be said of our Lord's prophetic discourses, and of the similar passages, few in number, which occur in the Apostolic Epistles. This does not absolve us from the duty of studying such portions of Scripture; the ancient prophets, though much of what they were commissioned to reveal was not clear to themselves, 'inquired and searched diligently' what the Holy Spirit who prompted them intended, and at any rate were led to perceive that no temporal interpretation could exhaust these communications (1 Pet. i. 10-12); but it does warn us neither to elevate into Articles of faith what at best can only be pious surmises, nor summarily to reject such surmises as of pernicious tendency. The name of heresy has been too often applied to opinions which, even if erroneous, do not affect the fundamentals of the faith, or to interpretations of Scripture which vary from those to which we have been accustomed. We may rely upon it that the Bible has not yet spoken its last word to the Church. If we cannot, with Schleiermacher, consent to exclude Eschatology from the province of dogmatic theology, as not sufficiently testified to either by Christian experience or by Scripture, we may still admit the truth of the fact alleged, so far as to abstain from dogmatical assertion, and from branding opinions with which we may not agree with invidious names.

§ 104. *Survival of the Soul.*

The expression, immortality of the soul, is liable to objection. To God alone belongs immortality in the strict sense of the word (1 Tim. vi. 16); created beings, whether angels or men, depend for their existence on His continual presence and support, on the withdrawing of which they would relapse into nothingness. 'In Him we live and move, and have our being' (Acts xvii. 28), whether here or hereafter. And thus, if any human personality survives the stroke of death, it does so because God sustains it in life, and as long as He does so. The question then comes to this: can probable reasons be alleged for believing that the souls of the departed continue to exist, under the sustaining power of God, after their earthly tabernacle has been dissolved? It can only be entertained by those who hold that an essential distinction exists between body and spirit; that form of materialism which regards

the intellectual and moral faculties as functions of the bodily organization, depending on it and expiring with it, has no interest in such inquiries. Philosophy and revelation are the sources of information within our reach.

The philosophical proofs of the existence of the soul in a separate state resemble those commonly urged for the existence of God. Thus, by Cicero, the *consensus gentium* is adduced,* and it is, no doubt, a fact of great importance. The most uncultivated tribes believe in a future state of being, and nature is often a better guide than philosophy. Nevertheless, exceptions occur, of which the most remarkable is Buddhism, with its doctrine of Nirvâna, or the absorption of the soul into the spirit of the universe; and naturally, pantheism, in its various forms, favours the same conclusion. With these systems, whether of religion or philosophy, the doctrine of metempsychosis, or the migration of the soul into various bodies in succession, must not be confounded, for in all its transmigrations the soul is supposed to preserve its separate identity. Again, Cicero argues, not without reason, from the thirst for posthumous fame, which impels souls of heroic mould to 'scorn delights and live laborious days,' in the hope of leaving a name behind them (De Senect., 22, 23). Would statesmen sacrifice their ease, warriors risk their lives on the field, poets and scientists renounce the vulgar prizes of life, if they did not expect to know and to enjoy in a future state the veneration in which a grateful country, or mankind, holds their memory? The teleological argument, too, is of weight. Man evidently has capacities which do not find scope in the present life; for what purpose were they bestowed? It is a frequent, but not the less mysterious dispensation, that just at the moment when an individual of rare natural and acquired abilities seems about to enter on a career of beneficent activity, accident or disease cuts short the expectation, and leaves the world mourning over what seems a waste of means and opportunity. In a future life these faculties may have full scope for their exercise. Then the doctrine of retribution lends its aid. A righteous and almighty governor of the world being assumed as a fact, it is difficult to understand why virtue should so often fail of its reward and vice prosper even to the end of life. The misgivings of the psalmist (Ps. lxxiii.) on this point were natural, and could not be set at rest until, under such light as he possessed, he fell back upon the hope that God would be the strength of his heart and his portion for ever (ver. 26). None of these considerations are without force, and it may be remarked that they are of a more satisfactory nature than the metaphysical arguments on which Butler relies. As

* *Permanere animos arbitramur, consensu nationum omnium* (Tusc. i. 16).

for example, that since consciousness is a single and indivisible power, the subject in which it inheres must be so also, and therefore indestructible.* This reasoning overlooks the fact that the soul, according to Scripture, is created no less than the body; 'the Lord breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul' (Gen. ii. 7); whence it seems to follow that however simple an essence it may be and incapable of destruction by *dissolution of parts*, it may perish by the withdrawing on the Creator's part of the life which He first communicated, and the continuance of which entirely depends upon him. The argument assumes that the soul has life in itself, whereas its life is derivative. If it is not derivative, it must be a part, in some way or other, of the Divine essence, either by emanation or by union analogous to physical union, and thus we arrive at the doctrine of the eternal pre-existence of souls, as it was taught by Origen and others. Moreover, the consciousness of the individual is not the mere abstraction which remains after separating from the soul all that makes it differ from other souls; for example, the residuum common to the race, of reason and conscience; but it is composed of the combination of peculiarities which the temperament, history, and natural endowments, of that particular individual have issued in, and which distinguishes him from any other man. The *individual* soul, therefore, is by no means so simple a subject as is supposed. In fact, the argument tends to annihilate personality, and especially personality as connected with the body; and this is another reason why it cannot be deemed satisfactory. Not less open to doubt is the remark of Butler, that disease, as it advances, seems to have no effect on the mental powers. Instances, no doubt, occur in which up to the moment of departure the mind seems as vigorous as ever it was; but, as a rule, decay of the bodily organs, especially of the organ of thought, is accompanied by a corresponding failure of mental energy. Again, that the body is not the mind is indeed proved by the changes which the former undergoes without affecting personal identity; but to infer thence that the relation of one to the other resembles that of foreign matter to the sentient being, as, *e.g.*, of a telescope to the faculty of vision, is pressing the analogy too far, and may lead to a depreciation of the body as equally with the soul an object of redemption. Again, the facts that we have passed through manifold changes, bodily and mental, from infancy to manhood, and that the same law holds good in the lower creation; the transformation being often such as could not have been anticipated, as when the seed becomes a plant or the chrysalis develops itself into a worm or

* Anal. P. i., c. 1.

a butterfly ; *rebut any presumption* against the survival of the soul in a new state, but they hardly carry us further. To the objection that brutes may thus be proved to possess souls, and their souls to survive death, the answer is not, as Butler puts it, that for aught we know brutes may develop into rational beings as infants grow up into the exercise of reason ; or, at any rate, that the future system of the universe may require orders of irrational creatures ;* but that, as respects the brute creation, the permanence of the *species* does not necessarily involve that of the *individual*. The question relates to personal identity, and we may well believe that while the species survives, a soul naturally destitute of reason and conscience, or of these faculties as they belong to man, passes at death into the Nirvâna of the general life of the order to which it belongs. It is remarkable that this profound thinker (Butler) should not have referred to the facts of dreamland, so mysterious and yet significant.† Dreams prove that the soul can be active independently of the bodily senses, though not perhaps of the bodily organs ; a life is lived in sleep the same in kind as that of the waking state, but full of strange incongruities ; the soul can recall and combine impressions received either through the senses or the powers of reflection, but its dependence on the body is proved by the suspension of the critical faculty ; it is not sensible at the time of the absurdity of some of its combinations, but it becomes so when recalling, in a waking state, what has passed. Facts which prove both the relative independence of the soul of its bodily tabernacle, and the incompleteness of its condition, if ever (which is doubtful) that is one of absolute bodiless existence. On the whole, these philosophical analogies may be sufficient to rebut the assumptions of the materialist, and so to clear the ground for more direct evidence ; they raise a probability that death is the destruction neither of the soul nor of its active powers ; but beyond this it is hardly safe to press them. In particular, the inference from them that not only the soul itself but its active powers may continue after death may be opposed

* ‘ And thinks admitted to an equal sky
His faithful dog shall bear him company.’

† Not so Shakespeare :

‘ To die, to sleep ;—
To sleep ! perchance to dream : aye, there’s the rub :
For in that sleep of death what dreams may come,
Must give us pause.’—*Hamlet*.

The alleged appearances of the departed, some of which it is not easy to put aside, are too open to controversy to be insisted on. The same may be said of the phenomena of animal magnetism and clairvoyance ; which also are not to be dismissed as mere instances of ocular delusion or imposture, unworthy of examination. Somnambulism is matter of experience, and it presents some analogy to the faculty of dreaming.

by another analogy. A sleep without dreams, however long, seems to the sleeper but a moment on his awakening; the mental activities during that state though not extinct were certainly suspended. We cannot, then, wonder at the avowal of Cicero's auditor, that while he was reading Plato's speculations on the subject he was inclined to assent to the soul's immortality; but when he laid the book down his doubts returned.*

We turn to revelation. Of the Pentateuch it may be said that it contains no allusion to a future state at all; the sanctions of the Mosaic law were purely temporal. Even the promises to the patriarchs did not extend beyond the present life. To Abraham and his seed the future possession of the land of Canaan, and that this seed should be a blessing to the world, were promised, and there the revelation stopped. The prayers in the Psalms for length of days, and thanksgivings for deliverance from death or danger, do not, as they were understood by the writers, refer to more than temporal mercies; whatever deeper meaning, as in Ps. xvi., the Holy Spirit may have intended to convey. Hezekiah's song of praise (Isa. xxxviii.) is confined within the same limits. After all that has been written on the famous passage, Job xix. 25-27, it is doubtful whether more can be found in it than an expression of faith by the sufferer, that to whatever harsh judgments his present afflictions might give occasion, God would at some future time clear up his integrity, and establish his reputation.† 'Let me alone,' is his cry of anguish, 'that I may take comfort a little before I go whence I shall not return, even to the land of darkness and the shadow of death, a land of darkness as darkness itself, and of the shadow of death, without any order and where the light is as darkness' (x. 20-22). As time went on a doctrine of *scheol* appears. It may have founded itself on such expressions as that of Jacob: 'I will go down into the grave to my son mourning' (Gen. xxxvii. 35), and such narratives as that of the appearance of Samuel to Saul (1 Sam. xxviii.). The Psalmist in Ps. cxxxix. expects when he descends to hell, or *scheol*, to find the presence of God there (ver. 8). In Isaiah (xiv.) the King of Babylon is represented as received by the inhabitants of *scheol*, the shades or *Rephaim* who had pre-

* *Nescio quomodo, dum lego assentior; cum posui librum, et mecum ipse de immortalitate animorum capere cogitare, assentio omnis illa elabitur.* Tusc. i. 11.

† The passage is discussed in Runze's article '*Unsterblichkeit*,' in Herzog. Ewald, H. Schultz, and Dillmann translate it thus: 'Though my sufferings become more intense than they are; if after my skin is destroyed my body should be affected; yet even in this life ("mine eyes shall see it, and not those of another") I shall experience the goodness of God in restoring me to health and prosperity, and silencing my enemies.'

ceded him thither, with cries of recognition and mockery. Scheol itself is a place of silence and gloom, where no voice of praise is heard, and the active functions of life are suspended. It is described in terms very similar to those which Homer uses, when he makes Achilles in the shades declare that he had rather be a day-labourer on earth than Achilles as he was. In the later prophets, during and after the exile, a great accession to the national faith is visible. The doctrine of the resurrection of the body comes into view, and this implies the survival of the soul in its disembodied state. Such prophecies as 'He will swallow up death in victory' (Isa. xxv. 8), and 'O death, I will be thy plagues; O grave, I will be thy destruction' (Hos. xiii. 14), and such prophetic visions as that of the dry bones (Ezek. xxxvii.), must have prepared the way for the great announcement of Daniel, the first clear revelation on the subject, that 'Many of them that sleep in the dust shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt' (xii.). Thenceforward, until Christ came, uninspired teachers took up the theme, and, with the exception of the sects of the Sadducees and Essenes, there was no retrogression from the position in which prophecy had left it. The apocryphal and pseudepigraphal books of the centuries immediately preceding Christ not only teach a resurrection of the dead, but connect death with sin as a penalty, and the reversal of the penalty with expiation and satisfaction (2 Macc. vii. 32-37; xii. 40-45). And thus when our Lord appeared, the popular belief, as represented by the Pharisees, was on the side of a resurrection and of an intermediate state. Those who may be perplexed by the absence of clear statements in the earlier records would do well to remember that the revelation of the Gospel proceeded gradually, in sundry ways and various partitions (Heb. i. 1), and that each part of it kept pace with the rest. 'Life and immortality,' in the Christian sense of the words, are the fruit of Christ's atonement and resurrection (2 Tim. i. 10); until these had become facts, the disclosure of the former was necessarily postponed.

What was lacking in these earlier notices was supplied by Christ Himself in the Gospels, and by the accredited organs of the Holy Spirit after the day of Pentecost. 'The hour is coming when they that are in the graves shall hear His voice, and shall come forth, they that have done good to the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil to the resurrection of judgment;' in this announcement the doubts which neither philosophy nor the hints of the Jewish Scriptures could remove, were for ever set at rest. Hitherto the question had been a matter of debate in the Jewish schools, on which different sides might be taken

without leading to a rupture with the theocracy : the Sadducees, who held that there was no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit, and the Pharisees, who confessed both, equally acknowledged the authority of Moses. But since the fuller revelation of the Gospel, the resurrection of the dead is an essential article of the Christian faith, and it carries with it the acknowledgment of a continued existence of the soul hereafter. This latter is implied in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, and in the promise to the thief on the cross, and thereby receives the seal of Christ Himself. 'To-day thou shalt be with Me in Paradise ;' the disembodied spirits both of the thief and of Christ were to survive in Hades, and whatever belongs to Christ, the typical Man, belongs to His Church. But Christ did more than announce or exemplify the fact ; He showed from Scripture that so it must be, by an inference which the Sadducees themselves ought to have drawn. 'As touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying : I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob ? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living' (Matt. xxii. 32). These patriarchs had passed from earth, but God was still with them, preserving them in the separate state until the time appointed for their resurrection. This is the true warrant for the Christian's assurance that death will not destroy the soul. God lives essentially, therefore they that are His must live. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are alive because God, who is not the God of the dead but of the living, is still their God. We may confidently appropriate the Apostle's assurance, that 'neither life nor death shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus' (Rom. viii. 38, 39).

§ 105. *Consciousness.*

Butler draws a distinction between the destruction of the soul, or, as he calls it, the living being itself, and the destruction of its active powers by death. It is conceivable that, as in a sleep without dreams, the soul might continue to exist after death, and yet that its present powers of reflection might be suspended. This leads to the question, whether after death it remains actively conscious.

The contrary opinion has been often entertained. Certain Arabian Christians, in the third century, taught that the soul dies with the body, to be raised again with the body at the last day.* A modified form of the same tenet appeared in the same century, under the title of Psychopannuchia, or a sleep of the

* They were called Thenopsychites.

soul (without dreams) until the resurrection of the body. Tertulian mentions the opinion, only to reject it; nor did it prevail to any extent in the Church. At the Reformation, some sections of the Anabaptists appear to have revived it—against whom Calvin came forward, in a Tract on the subject found in his collected works. Luther expresses no fixed opinion. In modern times writers of some note in England and Germany have shown themselves favourable to it, among whom may be mentioned Archbishop Whately, in his book entitled ‘Scripture Revelations on a Future State.’ The Old Testament describes the intermediate state as one in which the active functions of life are suspended; but it does not, any more than heathen mythology, suppose it to be a state of insensibility. ‘Wilt thou show wonders to the dead; shall the dead arise and praise thee?’ Certainly not as God showed wonders by Moses, not as the worshippers joined in the praises of God in the temple; but from this comparative inactivity to a profound slumber is a long step. Nor does the New Testament convey such an impression. ‘The night cometh, when no man can work.’ Our Lord evidently was alluding to His approaching death, but we cannot suppose that the active powers of His soul were—during the three days’ sojourn in Hades, or paradise—in abeyance; and, indeed, if 1 Peter iii. 19 refers to this sojourn, we know that they were not so. He must have meant that the mode, or measure, of working which had hitherto been in His power, would cease at death. To the same effect St. Paul speaks in Phil. i. 22-24. The choice was present to his mind, whether to remain in the flesh, or to depart and be with Christ; it was not without hesitation that he arrived at the conclusion that the former was preferable. And the reason he gives is, that it gave opportunity for ‘fruit of labour,’ which the latter—though in other respects to be desired—did not. But to be with Christ could never have been described as in itself a superior state, if it meant a state of insensibility. In that case it would have been a retrograde state. In the parable of Dives and Lazarus, Abraham and Dives are represented as recognising each other; Dives implores relief from Abraham as the head of the chosen people, and Abraham does not repudiate his relationship. A dialogue ensues, showing on either side acquaintance with the life lived in the flesh; and nothing can be more foreign to the impression which the narrative leaves on the mind than the supposition that the soul sleeps in the intermediate state. That its imagery is not in all points to be interpreted literally may be admitted; but we must not with the shell discard the kernel. The plain gist of the parable is to teach a future state of retribution, succeeding immediately to the present life; a state in which

memory is active, conscience is quickened, remorse felt, and a desire to undo, if possible, the effect of former bad example is expressed. There may be no 'fruit of labour' in such a state, but insensibility of the soul is the last thing we connect with it. Our Lord's answer to the thief, 'To-day thou shalt be with Me in paradise'* (the best comment on St. Paul's expectation that for himself to depart would be to be with Christ) implies more than that both the Saviour and the thief would, ere the day ended, be in Hades; whatever we are to understand by the term paradise, it must signify here not a state of bare existence, but one of conscious felicity. According to the interpretation of 1 Peter iii. 19, now usually received, the spirits to whom Christ preached must have been capable of hearing and understanding what He said. The figurative character of the Apocalypse is not to be denied; yet it seems straining the principle to suppose that the description of the great multitude before the throne, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands, chanting the song of Moses and the Lamb (vii. 14), is nothing but figure; or that the cry of the souls, remembering their sufferings on earth, and appealing to God for recompense (c. vi.), is to be understood only as 'the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground' (Gen. iv. 10) is. The objection that if these souls could appear to the writer as objects of sight, clothed in white robes, etc., they were not pure spirit, but clothed with some kind of body, proceeds on the assumption that the soul in the separate state can be and is absolutely disembodied—an assumption which itself is open to doubt. On this point some remarks will be offered in the following section. On the whole, the Scripture evidence is in favour of a state of consciousness after death. As compared with the present life, the intermediate state is one of repose, 'they rest from their labours'—of self-inspection rather than of outward activity; the soul is thrown upon the centre of its moral being; memory remains, furnishing food for this inward process; intercourse with God in Christ, and with those who have gone before, seems to be carried on. In short, it is, as compared with the full restoration of personality at the resurrection, an imperfect state, but by no means one of insensibility. And the argument from analogy, that we may lose a part—and even a large part—of our bodies without any sensible effect on our mental powers, though not so cogent as regards the survival of the soul after death, is of use to confirm the conclusion that *if* it survives it may be active independently altogether of our present bodies.

* To connect *σήμερον* with *λέγω σοι*, 'To-day I say unto thee, thou shalt,' etc., as some ancient commentators suggested, is inadmissible.

For the opposite view it is urged that the New Testament writers constantly describe the death of Christians by the word sleep, and that they pass over the intermediate state as seemingly of little importance to the Christian ; that the Second Advent and the resurrection of the body are the great facts to which they direct his thoughts. It is so, as stated. 'Some,' says St. Paul, 'are fallen asleep' (1 Cor. xv. 6) ; of Lazarus, we read in John xi. 11, 'Our friend Lazarus sleepeth, but I go to wake him out of sleep.' That the body sleeps, it is argued, cannot be supposed ; it is the soul then that is meant. But the usage is easily accounted for. The visible symptom of death is the cessation of motion and sensibility in the body ; and the nearest resemblance to that state, in the living being, is presented in sleep. Motion is suspended, and sensibility, if not lost, is less active. Sleep, therefore, in all ages, and among all writers—heathen as well as Christian—has been chosen as the most appropriate image of death—'*speculum mortis*,' as Tertullian calls it. A death-like slumber is a common expression amongst us. The inspired writers adopt the same image ; but they intended also, no doubt, to convey by it consolation to the living. Sleep to the weary is grateful, and death to the Christian is a release from earthly trial ; sleep is succeeded by an awakening, and death to the Christian is the gate to a joyful resurrection. As to the reticence of Scripture on the state between death and the resurrection, it is accounted for by this state's being only a provisional and transitory one ; and, moreover, by the circumstance that no living generation of Christians can be sure that it will not in their day come to an end by the return of Christ to judgment—the great object of their expectation. Thus it is that St. Paul's statements in 1 Thess. iv. 15-17, which have been thought to raise difficulties respecting the limits of inspiration, may be explained. 'We which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord' is equivalent to 'We which are alive, *if* we remain,' etc. The Church, in the Apostle's view, consists partly of those who have fallen asleep in Christ, and partly of those who are still in the flesh ; and the Church militant may always cherish a hope that Christ will appear in its day, and therefore may always adopt the Apostle's language, 'We which are alive, *if* we remain,' etc. It does not follow that he enjoyed a positive assurance of remaining, or intended to convey such a meaning to those to whom he wrote. Generations have passed away since he wrote, and their hopes have not been fulfilled ; still each succeeding one might, and may, cherish the hope of being among the favoured ones who, without dying, will be caught up to meet the Lord in the air. But however scanty the revelations touching the intermediate state may

be, they do not favour the hypothesis that the soul is unconscious therein.

It is not to be denied that certain passages may be made to fit in with this hypothesis. Thus when St. Paul expected to be with Christ the moment after his death (Phil. i. 23); that if he were absent from the body he would be present with the Lord (2 Cor. v. 8)—this, it is argued, refers to his resurrection, and presents no difficulty. For time is measured by the succession of ideas, and where there is no such succession, the longest time seems but a moment. To a sick person, unable to sleep, a single night seems intolerably tedious; the same night to a sound sleeper is but a moment. If the soul, then, is insensible in the separate state, departure hence would be, *to the perception of the departed*, coincident with the resurrection and being with Christ. But it is not probable that St. Paul had such a refined conception in his mind when he wrote; or that he would not, in consoling the Thessalonians for the apparent loss which their departed friends suffered, have employed so obvious an explanation. On the whole, we conclude that, though this interpretation of the Apostle's words may be tenable, it is neither necessary nor preferable. If he should depart, his soul would be with Christ; this seems his plain meaning. The same remarks apply, with even greater force, to the opinion expressed in the most elaborate treatise of modern times on eschatology, that of Kliefoth. The writer admits that the disembodied soul is conscious, exercises the faculty of memory, and is capable of intercourse with other souls; but he holds that it has no connection with either time or space. At present we are only concerned with time. To be out of time, and yet to think, to remember, to rejoice or suffer, to communicate with others, seems a contradiction in terms. It is only in time, and through the succession of ideas that, as far as our experience extends, such energies are possible. In fact, the writer makes eternity commence with death, which is certainly inaccurate. We may go further, and express a doubt whether eternity, as the attribute belongs to God, can be predicated of any created being. The felicity of the saints has a beginning; and never-ending rather than eternal seems the epithet appropriate to it. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that the intermediate state belongs to time. Practically the learned writer's theory ends in a psychopannuchia, or sleep of the soul; for if eternity, in the strict sense of the word, sets in with death, it is difficult to understand how the soul can exist out of time and yet be conscious of impressions which can come and go only in time.*

* Delitzsch, too, attempts to combine, in the separate state, eternity with time and space. 'Since, therefore, eternity may be in such wise immanent in

§ 106. *Development.*

It has already been observed (§ 70) that by Roman Catholic writers (Bellarmine, Möhler) the necessity of Purgatory is inferred, not merely from the possibility of there being outstanding debts which have not been fully discharged in this life, but because Christians leave the world with sinful tendencies, or the remains of them, which must be finally extirpated by the purgatorial fire. Bellarmine admits that the *fomes* of concupiscence is, at death, destroyed, and therefore temptation has no longer any material to work upon, but says nothing about the effects of bad habits, the scars they may leave on the soul, and how these are to be removed. According to Möhler, Purgatory is not merely a forensic but a purifying agency.* Under its former aspect it directly affects the sufficiency of Christ's atonement; under the latter it teaches that sin, in some form, accompanies the soul of the Christian into the separate state. Under either aspect it can plead no Scripture warranty. If the body is, as St. Paul seems to say, especially the seat of sin, we may well believe that with the deposition of the body all remains of sin are obliterated. But while we thus reject the notion of a purgatorial purifying process, we may admit that in the intermediate state development in one direction or the other is possible. Development is the law of every created being, as long as reason and conscience continue. We never stand still, either morally or intellectually; our habits, whether for good or for evil, are becoming daily more fixed. In the matter of sanctification progression is its life, 'we all, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory,' from one degree of glory to another (2 Cor. iii. 18). There seems no reason why in the separate state, and indeed after the resurrection, the same law should not prevail. The ways of Providence, here often mysterious; questions about the heathen, or infants, or the mass of the called but not chosen, so perplexing; antinomies in the scheme of salvation not yet reconciled—problems of this kind may occupy attention, and gradually approach solution, as the soul is prepared to receive such accessions of knowledge. If the soul is to enjoy closer fellowship with Christ than was here

time and space (?), that these forms of existence continue after death, for the creature, the souls of the blessed are in eternity so far as it is partly the element of their life, and partly time and space are impregnated with it, and thereby lose their limiting effect.' (Bib. Psych., A. vi. § 6.) Is there not a confusion here between *αἰώνιος* in the sense of duration and *αἰώνιος* as denoting the life in God (John xvii. 3)?

* Symbolik, § 23.

possible, as St. Paul anticipates (Phil. i. 23), this can hardly be without a growth in love and purity. Deficiencies may be supplied, weaknesses strengthened, and yet no sin enter. In short, it would be contrary to analogy to suppose that either in the separate or the final state the soul should remain stationary, without progress in an upward direction; and a development in the opposite direction is also conceivable. We see in the present life frequent instances of such changes for the worse; the conscience becoming more hardened, habits of sin more confirmed, alienation from the life of God more pronounced. This, too, may go on in the separate state and afterwards. But as regards the blessed dead, a difficulty may suggest itself which this seems the appropriate place to notice. A bodiless spirit, it may be urged, is, as far as our experience extends, incapable of such moral development. Our bodies are, at present, the means of communication with the outer world, of receiving and transmitting its impressions; if this outward vehicle were removed, and the soul reduced to feed upon itself without assimilating fresh materials, it might seem as if the essential conditions of improvement were absent. But the question may be raised whether even in the separate state the soul is without a body of some kind. It is, indeed, very difficult to form any conception of what a pure created spirit can be. We have no aid from experience or analogy for solving the problem. It would seem that a created spirit must occupy space, and have a local habitation; and if so, be subject to the conditions thereto belonging, such as circumscription and a whereabouts. But this seems to imply some kind of material investiture, not only here but in the intermediate state. And Scripture, to say the least, is not against such a supposition. The difficult passage (2 Cor. v. 1-5) is susceptible of more than one interpretation, and among others it may be paraphrased thus: 'We know' (are fully assured) 'that if our earthly house of this tabernacle' (our present bodies) 'were dissolved, we have a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For in this' (tabernacle) 'we groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven; if' (that is, since) 'we shall be found clothed, not naked. For we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened; not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life.' The main object of the Apostle's hope and prayer, as thus expressed by him, is that he might be spared the necessity of dying, and that the spiritual body of the resurrection might, by the change spoken of in 1 Cor. xv. 52, without death, be superinduced upon his mortal body. If, however, it should be otherwise, if his earthly house were dissolved,

still at the resurrection he would receive it again in a glorified state. This is according to his usual teaching. But, though obscurely, something further seems to be implied. In the event of death we know, indeed, that we shall have (at the resurrection) 'a house not made with hands'; but St. Paul calls this house 'a superinduction' (*ἐπενδύσασθαι*), a clothing upon a previously existing tabernacle, imperfect, indeed, as compared with that final change, but still real. 'Even in the event of death' (we may suppose him to say), 'and before the general resurrection, we shall not be found absolutely naked.' In either case, whether the Parousia finds us alive, or we shall be raised from the dead, a super-clothing will form the nature of the change, a super-structure on something already existing. That is, in effect, some kind of tabernacle is provided for the soul in the separate state, so that it shall never be reduced to a bare spiritual essence.* In confirmation of this interpretation we may refer to the parable in which Dives recognises Abraham and Lazarus; to the preaching of Christ to the spirits in prison, which is hardly conceivable without some kind of bodily organs in the latter; to the promise to the thief on the cross; to the white robes given to the martyrs (Rev. vi. 11); and to the great multitude clothed in such robes and with palms in their hands (*Ibid.* vii. 9). To set down all this to poetic imagery is to push the principle of symbolism too far. To the above we may add that 'the place,' out of the 'many mansions' in His Father's house which Jesus is preparing for His people (John xiv. 2, 3), implies a literal abode of souls; and that there is nothing figurative in the statement that when He comes again, 'them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring visibly with Him' † (1 Thess. iv. 14). The appearances of Samuel (1 Sam. xxviii. 14) and of Moses and Elijah on the Mount, particularly of Moses, point in the same direction.

Various speculations have been put forth respecting the nature

* The meaning and connection of 2 Cor. v. 3 have sorely exercised the commentators. Usteri and Olshausen make it refer to the clothing of the believer with the righteousness of Christ—'If when He comes again we shall not be found destitute of this saving protection'; an exposition which has little to say for itself. Delitzsch (who, however, holds that the soul after death has an 'immaterial body'), thus translates: 'We long to be clothed while yet living, although those who sleep will, at the Parousia, be in no inferior condition; they will, by being raised in new bodies, not be found naked,' which seems a truism, and to add nothing to the train of thought (Bib. Psych., vi. § 5). So Reiche and others. J. P. Lange and Martensen may be cited as supporting the view taken in the text. The present *ἐχομεν* may, no doubt, be equivalent to the future considered as certain; and hence no stress can be laid on it to prove an intermediate body.

† Will bring them with Christ from heaven, to receive at the resurrection the more perfect clothing of the spiritual body.

of the intermediate body, if such may be supposed to exist. Delitzsch speaks of an 'immaterial corporeity,' with which the departed soul is invested. The soul, he argues, is even in this life never without an image (*εἶδος*, forma, effigies) of itself, conformable to its progress either in holiness or in sin. The soul which has entertained and improved the grace of the Holy Spirit throws itself out into an immaterial and invisible image, which accompanies it beyond the grave, and is the pledge of the future glorified body. Here it was kept back by the body of sin and death, released therefrom it will exhibit its native properties. But even here it occasionally breaks through the barrier of the flesh, as we see in Moses, when he came down from the Mount (Exod. xxxiv. 29), and Stephen, when he stood before the council (Acts vi. 15). It is by virtue of this counterpart of itself that the soul has the power, like the angels, of visibility; it enabled Samuel to appear (though not to Saul), and Moses to be seen on the mount of transfiguration. Transferred at death to immediate proximity to Christ, the soul with this its effigies will be transformed more and more into Christ's likeness, until it becomes ripe for the reception of the resurrection-body. In the case of the unconverted, the process is the reverse. Their souls, too, possess an immaterial image, but defiled by sin it shines with no spiritual splendour, and in proportion as sinful habits gain the mastery, it deteriorates continually, until it is transferred to its own place in Hades.* The theory is ingenious, but labours under difficulties. An immaterial corporeity, if the latter word is to be taken in a real sense, seems a contradiction in terms. The thinnest, most ethereal body must still possess the essential properties of body; but Delitzsch denies any such to his form, or *εἶδος*, of the soul; such, therefore, is a mere reflection, as in a mirror, of itself. If such a form belongs essentially to the soul, it must indeed accompany the soul into the separate state; but how can it be considered an investiture, or clothing, of the soul? Martensen contents himself with observing that 'A certain bodily clothing of the soul in the regions of the dead must be supposed,' without further explanation.† Others (*e.g.*, Rinck‡) make the nervous system the seat of the soul; which system quickened, in the case of Christians, by the Spirit of God, invests the soul after death with a suitable clothing, and prepares it gradually for the final change. But the nervous system, equally with every other constituent of our present body, undergoes decomposition at death, and turns to dust. These physical theories seem as unnecessary as they are fanciful. Scripture, though it always designates the

* Bib. Psych., vi. 5, 6.

† Dog., § 276.

‡ Zustand nach dem Tode, Kap. 4.

departed by the terms *πνεύματα* or *ψυχαι*, does not compel us to believe them wholly out of time or space. A supernatural world of their own appears to surround them, from which they receive, and upon which they make, impressions; apparently they recognise, and are recognised by, those who had preceded them; the souls of the blessed enjoy closer intercourse than here below with Christ in His glorified humanity; from all which we may infer that they are not without a clothing, whatever notion of it we may form. Now, if the resurrection-body is, as all admit, no product of nature or of self-evolution, but of an immediate exercise of almighty power, why may not the same power—and as directly—provide departed souls with a material clothing, sufficient for present needs, though only a foretaste of, or preparation for, the more perfect vehicle of communication to be afterwards bestowed? To return to the subject of this section: development thus becomes possible, but under conditions unlike those of the present life, with its external distractions. 'They rest from their labours'—it is a state of comparative repose—but 'their works do follow them' (Rev. xiv. 13); the remembrance, if nothing more, of these works; but even this furnishing materials of a searching and purifying inward process. And thus they may, even in the separate state, grow in grace, and in ripeness for the full 'redemption of the body' at the appearing of Christ.*

§ 107. *Probation.*

The treatment of this question is so closely connected with the interpretation of the two well-known passages in the first Epistle of St. Peter (iii. 18-20, iv. 6), that no apology is needed for prefixing an examination of them. On the former some remarks have been offered in § 48; but singly, and in their connection, they demand a fuller inquiry.

The Revised Version runs thus: 'Christ also suffered for sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that He might bring us to God; being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit; in which also He went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which aforetime were disobedient, when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing' (iii. 18-20). 'Who shall give account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead. For unto this end was the Gospel preached even to the dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit' (iv. 6). In the first draught of the third of our Thirty-nine Articles

* The idea of Bengel, and some others, that the resurrection of departed saints is continually going on, as they become ripe for it, may be referred to in connection with this section.

(1552) 1 Pet. iii. 19 was quoted as referring to the descent of Christ into hell (Hades): 'His body lay in the sepulchre until His resurrection, but His ghost departing from Him was with the ghosts that were in prison, or hell; as the place of St. Peter doth testify.' So much controversy had arisen respecting the meaning of the passage that in Parker's revision allusion to it was omitted, and the bare fact retained, that 'it is to be believed that Christ went down into hell' (Art. iii.). The controversy turned mainly on the question whether the fact mentioned by St. Peter occurred previously or subsequently to the incarnation; whether the Apostle refers to the preaching of Noah ('a preacher of righteousness,' 2 Pet. ii. 5) to his contemporaries, during the hundred and twenty years while the ark was a preparing; or to a preaching of Christ Himself to the dwellers in Hades, either during the three days' sojourn in that separate state, or on some other occasion. The former interpretation is supported by the authority of Bishop Pearson, and of some distinguished names abroad, such as Von Hofmann (*Schriftbeweis*); the latter by Bishop Horsley, and the majority of modern commentators.* The reasons for it seem decisive. The subject of the chapter throughout is Christ the incarnate Son, Christ in His whole person; it is the same Christ who suffered for our sins that is said to be quickened in spirit, and to have preached to the spirits. We know that holy men of God—Noah among others—spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; but we never read that Christ in His whole Person spoke through them, nor could it have been so; and to make St. Peter affirm this is not only to beg the question, but to antedate the incarnation. It may be urged that if Noah preached by the Holy Ghost, he preached virtually by Christ, since the second and third Persons of the Holy Trinity are, as regards the Godhead, one; but, in fact, it is more than doubtful whether by the word 'spirit' (τῷ πνεύματι) in the passage we are to understand the Holy Spirit. Bishop Middleton's canon† may admit of exceptions, but on the whole it is in accordance with the usage of Scripture. But further: it is

* Archbishop Leighton is sometimes cited as favouring the Noachitic interpretation; it has been overlooked that in a note on the passage he abandons his former opinion: 'Thus I then thought, but do now apprehend another sense as probable if not more, even that rejected by most interpreters, viz., the mission of the Spirit and preaching of the Gospel by it, after Christ's resurrection.'

† 'I have had occasion to signify (see on Rom. viii. 13) that there is no indisputable instance in the New Testament in which anything is said to have been done or suffered by the Holy Spirit, where πνεῦμα, whether in the genitive or the dative case, is not governed by some preposition.' *Doctrine of Greek Art*, 1 Pet. iii. Nevertheless a doubt may exist whether Rom. viii. 13 is not an exception to the rule.

not the usage of Scripture to attribute the resurrection of our Lord (*ζωοποιηθῆις* being taken in its natural sense) to the Holy Spirit ; but occasionally to Christ Himself ('Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up'), more commonly to the Father (Acts xiii. 33 ; Ephes. i. 20). If *ἐκλήρυξεν*, too, is to retain its usual meaning, it will follow that Noah was commissioned not only to warn the Antediluvians of their impending danger, but to disclose to them the plan of salvation by Christ ; that is, that Noah and his contemporaries enjoyed a privilege which was denied to Abraham, Moses, David, and the prophets who 'searched diligently what the Spirit of Christ that was in them did signify when it testified the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow' (1 Pet. i. 10) ; and that divine revelation was not progressive, but retrograde, the knowledge vouchsafed to the world before the flood being withdrawn from the world after the flood. And, to repeat what was remarked in § 48, the word rendered 'went' (*πορεύθεις*) is no expletive, as when we say, he went and did or said so and so, but significant ; He took His departure, or went on a journey, which can hardly be understood except of a personal ministration of the Saviour Himself.* Might we connect *ποτε* with *ἐκλήρυξεν*, 'he preached once upon a time in the days of Noah,' it might furnish a ground for the Noachitic interpretation ; but in fact it belongs to *ἀπειθήσασι*, 'who once upon a time were disobedient' ; which removes any remaining doubt on the subject.

The transaction then occurred between the death and the resurrection of Christ ; but when, during this interval, is again matter of debate. The usual supposition is that it took place during the reposing of Christ's body in the grave, His soul preaching in Hades. There as a spirit He preached to spirits ; *πνεύματι πνεύμασι*, *spiritu spiritibus*, *congruens sermo*, as Bengel remarks ; and if we may assume that some kind of bodily investiture belongs to the soul in the separate state (see § 106) this interpretation is tenable ; but it is hardly consistent with the natural meaning of the terms used. Christ is said to have been *θανατωθῆις σαρκί*, put to death in the flesh, that is the body of His humiliation, the body which could suffer and die ; but to have been *ζωοποιηθῆις πνεύματι*, literally restored to life, or raised again, in spirit ; thus the parallelism is preserved, which is not the case with any other mode of interpretation. As regards the meaning of *ζωοποιηθῆις*, the word *ζωοποιέω* occurs eleven times in the New Testament,† including the passage before us, and in none of them

* Comp. ver. 22. ὅς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεου, πορεύθεις εἰς οὐρανόν.

† John v. 21, vi. 63 ; Rom. iv. 17, viii. 11 ; 1 Cor. xv. 22, 36, 45 ; 2 Cor. iii. 6 ; Gal. iii. 21 ; 1 Tim. vi. 13 ; 1 Pet. iii. 18.

can it be said to have any other meaning than that of restoration to life from the dead, whether natural or spiritual death. It is impossible, of course, for those who hold that the preaching to the spirits took place between Christ's death and His resurrection to understand the word in its usual sense; and accordingly various other meanings have been assigned to it, none of which is satisfactory. Thus it has been translated 'preserved in life,' which implies that apart from a special exercise of Divine power Christ's soul would have shared the death of His body; which, it is presumed, few will maintain. By others (*e.g.*, Bishop Wordsworth) it is supposed that Christ's soul being liberated from the body acquired increased active powers, *e.g.*, of locomotion; an idea not only opposed to Scripture, but of doubtful tendency as betraying a leaning to Gnosticism. Nowhere in Scripture is it affirmed to be a gain to be free from the body; nowhere is the body represented (as the Gnostics held) as a cage from which the imprisoned body longs to be free; on the contrary, it is for the redemption of the body, its resurrection or its change, that Christians are said to be waiting (Rom. viii. 23). A modification of this sense is more tolerable. If we understand by πνεύματι, the Divine nature, as it seems to signify in Rom i. 4, 'quickened in spirit' may mean that the soul of Christ was, by virtue of its continued union with Deity, endued with extraordinary power, so, *e.g.*, as to be able to pass over the gulph which no mere human soul could do (Luke xvi. 26), and preach to the antediluvians. But this is still a departure from the usual signification of ζωοποιέω. We are thus led to place the transaction not before but after the resurrection; whether directly after that great event, or at some other time during the forty days sojourn on earth. It only remains to discover a fitting sense for πνεύματι. It is evidently contrasted with σαρκί, and since that means a body, the predominant element of which was σὰρξ (not σῶμα), a body subject to infirmity, why may not πνεύματι signify a body the predominant element of which is πνεῦμα? There is, St. Paul tells us in 1 Cor. xv. 44, a σῶμα πνευματικόν; and in the next verse Christ in His whole person is called πνεῦμα (ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν); πνεῦμα so far as the predominant quality of His glorified body is spiritual. And such may be the signification of the term in the clause of the series 1 Tim. iii. 16, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι. 'God was manifest in the flesh' (the body of humiliation); 'was justified' (perceived to be what He claimed to be) 'in spirit' (in His risen body); 'was seen' (in this latter body) 'by angels, etc.' If this meaning be allowed, the whole passage runs smoothly; Christ died in the flesh, but was raised again in

a spiritual body ; in which body He took a journey to Hades, and preached there.

The passage in the next chapter is too explicit to need much comment. Christ, the Apostle says (ver. 6), is ready to judge both the quick and the dead ; for with this end the Gospel was preached even to the dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit. This can hardly refer, as some have held,* to departed Christians who, while alive, had heard and received the Gospel, for there would then be no contrast between 'the living' and 'the dead'; these Christians might be called both living and dead, living at one time, dead at another. Nor can we understand by 'the dead' the spiritually dead, for the living who had been converted and had died in Christ were at one time spiritually dead, and thus again there would be no contrast. The passage seems to refer back to chap. iii. 19, and it adds the reason of the preaching of Christ to the souls in Hades. Christ is to judge all men, and that there may be material for the judgment, the Gospel must be proposed to all men for acceptance, either in this life or afterwards ; the judgment will turn on their attitude towards Christ thus revealed to them. Now since the vast majority of the human race depart this life without having even heard of a Saviour, provision, the Apostle seems to say, is made in the intermediate state to redress this disadvantage. To a certain class of such sinners, the antediluvians, Christ Himself preached ; whether He continues this personal ministration or delegates it to others we are not told. Nor does it appear why the antediluvians should be specially mentioned above other sinners. Perhaps to the Apostle's mind the human race was divided into two portions by the catastrophe of the flood. Those who lived after it lived under a temporal covenant of mercy of which the rainbow was the sign ; to rectify this inequality may have been the reason why the antediluvians were favoured by a message of mercy from Christ Himself.

But was it a message of mercy ? The older Lutheran theologians agree on the meaning of *ζωοποιηθεῖς*, but they hold that the object of Christ's preaching was to confirm the condemnation of the antediluvians. But until the close of all things the work of Christ must be presumed to be a work of mercy, and the word *ἐκήρυξεν* is generally employed for proclaiming the Gospel. 1 Peter iv. 6 is express to the point. '*The Gospel* was, and is, preached to the dead, in order that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit.' It is obvious that the former clause is not a principal but a sub-

* Leighton, Commentary.

sidiary one; for the Gospel is never preached that men may die. The sense is: they were preached to, in order that, although they had suffered death, the penalty of sin, after the lot and fashion of all men, yet they might live to God spiritually. As to the result of the preaching nothing is revealed.

To sum up: Christ after His resurrection, that is, in His spiritual body, proceeded on an errand of mercy to Hades, the place where impenitent sinners who lived before the flood were confined, and preached the Gospel to them. He showed Himself in His resurrection body as the Lord of life to 'things in heaven,' the angels (1 Tim. iii. 16); to 'things on earth,' His disciples during the forty days; and to 'things under the earth,' the shades below (Phil. ii. 10). Thus He proved that no barriers were too strong for Him to overcome, that He had 'the keys of hell and death' to open and shut, to enter and depart as it pleased Him, and that Satan was a conquered foe. That the *disembodied soul* of Christ, during the three days, went to the place of torment in Hades is an unauthorized conjecture. But how it was occupied in that interval we are not told explicitly, but we may form a conjecture (see § 108).

And now the question remains, How do these passages of St. Peter bear upon a future probation? That the event stands alone on the page of Scripture; that we have no intimation of its ever having been repeated; that the passages are capable of another interpretation; all this must be admitted, and it follows that positive assertions on the subject are out of place. If, however, the Noachitic interpretation is, for the reasons given, hardly tenable, we have before us a revelation of great importance and significance. It is the chief one of the very few instances in which a corner of the veil which hides the unseen world from our view is lifted, and a glimpse beyond vouchsafed. To have this veil wholly drawn aside would neither be profitable nor safe for us. What we have to do here is to make use of our privileges, and fulfil our stewardship; and the scenes beyond the grave, if fully disclosed, might be so overpowering as to indispose (as in the case of the Thessalonians) to the ordinary duties of life; to say nothing of the superstitious or worse uses to which the information might be put. The fact, however, remains that on one occasion Christ Himself preached, with a salutary aim, to souls in Hades formerly impenitent; that is, that in this instance at least probation did not end with this life. The universal proposition, therefore, that it does so end in all cases is met at once by this exception; and equally so the attempt to elevate this opinion into an article of faith. If, indeed, unequivocal testimony of Scripture to that effect could be produced, it would settle the

question, and we should have to conclude that the passages of St. Peter must be otherwise explained. But this testimony is not forthcoming. It will not be pretended that such texts as 'where the tree falleth, there it shall be' (Eccles. xi. 3) have any bearing on the question. Our Lord, in Matt. xii. 32, speaks of a sin 'which shall not be forgiven either in this æon, or in that which is to come.' What this sin is has been matter of debate from ancient times; but without entering into that question, we may observe that on the face of it the passage extends the possibility of forgiveness beyond the present life. The Jews, as is well known, commonly called the time before the coming of Messiah *αἰὼν οὗτος*, and that after *αἰὼν μέλλον*, both limited by the present life; but as Christ had actually introduced this latter æon by His coming, His words in Matt. xii. 32 refer to a still future æon, beyond this life; and if so they seem to imply the possibility of forgiveness in it. The general impression which the parable of Dives and Lazarus conveys is not that of final separation. The term son (*τέκνον*), used by Abraham, is not consistent with such an idea; and, in fact, the sufferings of Dives appear to have broken up the crust of his selfishness, and wrought some improvement in his state of mind. There is, no doubt, a 'great gulf' between Abraham's bosom and the Hades in which the rich man found himself; impassable, indeed, to all but Christ, who appears to have traversed it, and if once, why not again? St. Paul tells us that we must all appear before the judgment-seat, to receive the things done in the body (2 Cor. v. 10); no doubt the things done in the body will come into judgment on that day, but so may what has been done or left undone in the intermediate state. It is quite in the style of Scripture to pass over this latter in silence. 'It is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment' (Heb. ix. 27); a judgment, beyond doubt, awaits all men immediately after death, but that this is *the* judgment is another question. In truth, however, this passage refers to the final judgment, as appears from the next verse: 'Unto them that look for Him shall He appear the second time without sin unto salvation.' Men die once, judgment awaits all at the Parousia; again the intermediate state is passed over in silence. 'Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he reap' (Gal. vi. 7); the principle is unquestionable, but it is to be observed that the warning here, as all through the Epistles, is addressed to those supposed to be real Christians, and even real Christians need to be reminded that the measure of their future reward depends on the present discharge of their stewardship.

Scripture, then, does not compel us to believe that all probation ends with the present life; and, therefore, does not compel us

to abandon the natural interpretation of the passages of St. Peter. They stand alone, and much is wanting to fill up the outline. We cannot say that such a ministration of the Word, whether by Christ Himself or by His ambassadors, is going on in Hades; we cannot tell whether any of those to whom Christ preached repented. But neither are we forbidden to infer that for the heathen who never enjoyed the privilege of hearing the Gospel; and even for the multitudes in Christian countries who through the fault of parents or the Church more than through their own have grown up in practical heathenism; some means may in the intermediate state be provided for bringing the question directly to them, whether they will receive or reject the salvation which, as we are told, is intended for all men. And the admonition still remains in full force, 'Behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation' (2 Cor. vi. 2). No one can tell for certain that if he here receives the grace of God in vain, another opportunity will be vouchsafed to him.

§ 108. *Locality.*

Scripture employs a variety of terms to describe the locality, or the state considered as a locality, of the departed; such as Scheol* or Hades, Abraham's bosom, paradise, heaven, Gehenna. In the earlier books of the Old Testament Scheol signifies the kingdom of the dead, the common abode to which, after death, both good and bad depart.† Thus Jacob expected to go down mourning into Scheol, to be with his son Joseph (Gen. xxxvii. 35); and that his gray hairs would be brought down with sorrow into Scheol (xlii. 38). The Authorized Version renders the word 'Scheol' by the grave; but Jacob, who imagined that Joseph was torn in pieces by a wild beast, could not have hoped to be buried in the same sepulchre with his son. The same remark applies to the promise to Abraham that he should go 'to his fathers in peace,' which cannot mean that he should be buried in the grave of his ancestors in Ur of the Chaldees, for in fact he was buried in Canaan in the cave of Machpelah. To 'go to his fathers,' to be 'gathered to his people,' means to join them in Scheol, where

* Commonly derived from שָׁעַל, to demand, *orcus rapax*; but the more probable etymology is from an ancient verb, חָלַל, signifying to be hollow.

cheol was supposed to be a cavity or abyss (Rom. x. 7), either under the earth—the earth being supposed to be a plane (Ps. lxxiii. 9), whence the expressions 'the nether parts of the earth' (Ezek. xxxi. 18), τὰ κατώτερα τῆς γῆς (Ephes. iv. 9)—or in the centre of the earth, *καταχθονίων* (Phil. ii. 10).

† Samuel, recalled from the dead at Saul's request, tells the king, 'To-morrow thou and thy sons shall be *with me*' (in Scheol) (1 Sam. xxviii. 19).

they were supposed to form a kind of community. The gloomy views which prevailed on the nature of Scheol, and the hope which gradually dawned on believers of deliverance from it, have already been described (§ 105). We may ask whether these gloomy views were merely subjective, that is, to the apprehension of the Old Testament saints, or whether they had a foundation in fact. It has been held by some that never since the promise of a Saviour was given did the souls of believers, even under the Old Testament, pass into Scheol as the common receptacle of good and bad, but into another place, Abraham's bosom or paradise; and this either a division of Hades or some other locality we know not where. There they remained in comparative repose, until the resurrection of Christ opened the way to a higher stage of bliss, 'In My Father's house are many mansions.' As regards a division of Scheol into two parts, there is no trace of it in the Old Testament; such prophecies as that of Daniel (c. xii.) refer not to the intermediate state, but to that subsequent to the resurrection. The hope of the old fathers was not to find a paradise in Scheol, but to be delivered from it; they never speak of it or any part of it, otherwise than as a valley of the shadow of death, to be dreaded, not desired. The parable in Luke (xvi. 22) describes Lazarus as carried by angels to Abraham's bosom, but it does not make this latter a division of Hades, though it does establish a separation of the good and the bad, and so far is in advance of the Old Testament. We conclude, then, that the mournful anticipations of the ancients, as regards the separate state, were founded on fact; that their condition in Scheol, though in some respects superior to that on earth, was in others inferior: superior in that they were in the safe keeping of God, and enjoyed an increased measure of the divine presence; inferior in that it was a place of gloom and inactivity, of hope rather than of fruition. All this was changed at the coming of the Saviour. His birth was, we cannot doubt, announced to the old fathers in Hades, and probably by the same ministration of angels which was employed to make it known to the shepherds of Bethlehem; and the intelligence which transformed a promise into a fact must have essentially affected their state if not their locality; inspiring them with a joy to which they had hitherto been strangers. It was probably on this occasion that Abraham rejoiced to see the day of Christ, saw it and was glad (John viii. 56). No record of such a revelation is found in the history of Abraham while on earth; if such there was, it was suffered to pass into oblivion. But if the birth of Christ was made known to the patriarch, and to his spiritual seed, in Hades, the reference of our Lord is accounted for; and the circumstance fits in well with the pro-

gressive character of revelation. Notwithstanding this communication the old believers remained in Hades, because redemption had not as yet been accomplished, nor the veil which hid the most holy place rent asunder. But after the resurrection of Christ, the atonement having been effected, another change is visible. Departed saints are no longer in Hades at all, but with the ascended Saviour in heaven itself, or the vestibule of it; the paradise to which St. Paul was caught up, and heard words not allowed to man to utter (2 Cor. xii. 4).^{*} Thus Stephen, at the approach of death, sees the glory of God in heaven and Jesus there, and commends his spirit to the Saviour, which implies that he hoped on his departure to enjoy the most intimate communion with that Saviour. 'Ye are come,' we read in Heb. xii. 22-24 (even in this life, and surely hereafter), 'to Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born, whose names are written (or enrolled) in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant.' Not merely do Christians after their departure hence individually live to God, but they are constituted into a polity, or community, the heavenly Jerusalem, the spiritual counterpart of the earthly one. 'Our commonwealth,' St. Paul says, 'is in heaven' (Phil. iii. 20). Similar are the visions of the Apocalypse. In chap. vi. 9-11, the souls of the martyrs are represented as 'under the altar,' the altar, it is true, of burnt-offering (*θυσιαστήριον*) in the outer court of the temple, but still the place of God's special presence; not in Hades. In chap. vii., not merely the martyrs, but the great multitude of all nations, who had come out of great tribulation and been faithful unto death, stand before the throne of God and serve Him day and night in His temple. If it be objected that these souls of the blessed cannot be in the very place in which Christ is, since they had not, like Him, risen from the dead, be it so; the paradise of disembodied spirits may be on the confines of the holy of holies, and yet not actually within it ('In My Father's house are many mansions'); the Saviour may be with them and they with Him, in the sense of His appearing amongst them from time to time, and not infrequently, but still not in such continued intercourse as will be after their resurrection. So far their condition may be imperfect, but in Hades, or any division of it, they are not.

Does Scripture throw any light on this change of locality as

^{*} The Jews in the time of Christ are said to have held a twofold paradise; one subterranean, to which the souls of men of average piety were at death translated; the other above the heavens, reserved for eminent saints.

regards the blessed dead? Whatever we suppose to have occasioned it must be looked for between the death and the ascension of Christ. The Church has ever believed that His soul went to Hades, and so it is stated in the earliest creed. Made sin for us, it was necessary that He should share in the common lot of sinful man, even to this lowest point of humiliation. We know, too, that His soul was not left there. But how long He remained in Hades is not specified, either in Scripture or the creed. We have already seen reason to believe that the preaching to the spirits in prison did not occur in His disembodied state, but after His resurrection. We are at liberty, then, to suppose, with many of the Fathers and the Reformers, that He merely appeared in Hades, and then left it, carrying with Him the souls of the ancient believers, including that of the thief, to the paradise just described. Some such triumphant rescue seems to be indicated in Ps. lxxviii. 18, a passage which is applied by St. Paul to Christ (Ephes. iv. 8). Literally, it is, 'Thou hast led captive Thy captives,'* and we may understand it either as 'Thou hast led captive thine (and Thy Church's) enemies' (Satan and Hades),† or 'Thou hast delivered Thy saints' in Hades from the bondage in which they were held. Either way interpreted, the passage favours the notion of a public emptying of Hades of its pious occupants, under the conduct of their Redeemer, not yet risen, indeed, but conqueror over their spiritual enemies. After conducting them to the heavenly paradise, and remaining with them during His disembodied state (disembodied as compared with the resurrection-body), He rose from the dead. Between His resurrection and ascension, He paid, in His whole person, the visit to Hades recorded in 1 Pet. iii. 18; passed the gulph which none but He could pass; and preached to the antediluvians confined there.

The question may be asked, Does Scheol, or Hades, exist now? If it was emptied by Christ of the Old Testament saints, and the New Testament saints, on their departure, never go to Hades at all but straight to the heavenly paradise, what inhabitants can Hades now have? If the preaching of Christ produced a salutary effect on some there (on which Scripture is silent), they, like the thief, would pass from it into paradise; if the offers of mercy were rejected by the majority (only too possible), these would remain in Hades, and in no state or place of enjoyment. Those of the antediluvian sinners who continued impenitent after

* ἀρχαλωσίαν in the LXX. version, the abstract for the concrete, as in Judg. v. 12: 'Arise, Barak, and lead thy captivity captive.'

† Comp. Col. ii. 15: 'Having spoiled principalities and powers, He made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it' (the cross).

the preaching of Christ would receive the reward of their former sins, and especially of this their impenitence, in some place of 'torment,' until, if ever, suffering had wrought a salutary change. By parity of reasoning, those who in this life had the Gospel distinctly proposed to them, and as distinctly rejected it, must be supposed to pass at death into Hades, and into some state of retribution, until, if ever, they are brought to a better frame of mind. There remains the vast mass of the heathen to whom Christ never was preached. *Extra Christum nulla salus*; properly understood, the saying is true; but by the older theologians, both before and after the Reformation, it was, like its mediæval equivalent, *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*, applied to establish harsh conclusions. These theologians, as a rule, ignored any intermediate state, and taught that eternal life and eternal punishment, as the case might be, followed at once upon death;* and, since *extra Christum nulla salus*, the heathen, as a body, were consigned to endless perdition.† With the recognition that an intermediate state is really an intermediate one,‡ milder views have prevailed. The heathen to whom Christ was never made known do not, indeed, at death, pass into paradise, but into Hades; but the very notion of Hades is that it is not a final state; and if the preaching of Christ may be regarded as a specimen of what is going on there, some ministration of the word, by means unknown to us, may still be addressed to heathen souls in the intermediate state: with various result, it is true; the hypothesis by no means involves a universal restitution. For this ministration will find differences of receptivity in Hades analogous to what we see in the present life and in Christian countries. Some heathens, as St. Paul intimates, endeavoured to live up to the light which they possessed, and some gave themselves 'over to a reprobate mind' (Rom. i. 28). What a difference between a Scipio or a Marcus Aurelius and a Nero! But to all, we may hope, salvation will, in some way, be offered, before the final judgment. Whether many or few have accepted the offer the last day alone will disclose.†

* *Piorum animas statim, postquam a corporibus sunt separatæ, essentialem beatitudinem consequi; impiorum vero animas damnationem suam subire; credimus.* Baier, *Comp.*, P i., c. 8, § 16.

† To justify their decision, they maintained that, in fact, the Gospel was preached to all the heathen by the Apostles, and pleaded St. Paul's words: 'Have they not heard? Yea, verily their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the end of the world' (Rom. x. 18); *e.g.*, to North America and Australia!

‡ The author of 'Scripture Revelations,' etc. (Archbishop Whately), justly remarks that if every individual's destiny is determined at death, the day of judgment becomes merely the publication of a sentence already pronounced.
L. iv.

SECOND ADVENT.

The Second Advent of Christ, not death, not the intermediate state, is, throughout the New Testament, the great object of Christian expectation. To wait for the coming of Christ, 'that blessed hope, the appearing of our great God and Saviour' (1 Cor. i. 7; Tit. ii. 13), sums up the proper attitude of the Church, whether militant on earth, or triumphant in paradise. For it will not only be a manifestation of Christ's essential glory, but will usher in events of surpassing moment to all beings, rational and irrational. It will bring the history of redemption to a close, and finally fix every man's destiny.

In Old Testament prophecy the first and second advents are not clearly distinguished. A day of the Lord is announced, one of vengeance on His enemies and of redemption to Israel; the glory of the Lord shall arise on Zion, and the Gentiles share in its brightness; a king shall reign in righteousness, and a man shall be as a hiding-place from the wind and a covert from the tempest; the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf unstopped; on Mount Zion the Lord will provide a feast for all people; He will swallow up death in victory, and wipe away tears from all faces; then shall it be said, This is our God, we have waited for Him, and He will save us (Is. xiii., lx., xxxii., xxxv., xxv.). All nature is to share in the blessing. A new heaven and a new earth will take the place of the old (Is. lxv. 17); the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, rapine and destruction shall cease; and righteousness and peace prevail over the world as the waters cover the sea (Is. xi.). It is obvious that these glowing descriptions are applicable both to the first and to the second advent, the two events occupying, in ancient prophecy, the same line of vision. In the New Testament they fall into their proper places, the one a fact, the other an expectation; the one the actual introduction, the other the completion of redemption.

The testimony of Christ in the Gospels, except on one point, is explicit. 'The Son of Man shall come in the glory of His Father with His angels' (Matt. xvi. 27); but as regards the precise time, 'of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father' (Mark xiii. 32). The Deity in Christ, by an act of condescension to our weakness, emptied itself of this knowledge in the person of the incarnate Son, the Kenosis of Phil. ii. 6, 7. When He does come, it will be to hold a final assize, and to render to every man according to his works (Matt. xxv. 31-46). His coming will be unexpected

as 'a thief in the night,' yet not without preliminary signs and warnings, which it is the duty of the Church carefully to note. Such are: the preaching of the Gospel throughout the world (Matt. xxiv. 14); the appearance of false Christs and false prophets (*Ibid.*, 24); the rise of Antichrist (2 Thess. ii. 3); great persecution of the Church (Matt. xxiv. 21); an extensive apostasy (*Ibid.*, 12); signs and wonders not of heavenly origin (2 Thess. ii. 9); convulsions, both in the political and the natural world, of unusual severity (Matt. xxiv. 7); the final conflict, ending with the destruction of Antichrist and his followers (2 Thess. i. 7-10). 'When these things come to pass, lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh.' The nature of these signs explains why the Second Advent has sometimes been prematurely expected, and sometimes lost sight of as an object of Christian hope. The history of the Church abounds with manifestations of evil and tribulation which have been thought to portend, each in its turn, the speedy appearance of Christ, to the disappointment of the pious but sanguine observers. Each age, in its interpretation of passing events, needs the warning of St. Paul to the Thessalonians (2 Thess. ii.). On the other hand, the postponement of the Advent has sometimes produced sceptical doubts on the subject: 'Where is the promise of His coming? for all things continue as they were from the beginning of creation' (2 Pet. iii. 4). In the nature of the signs predicted (if we except the 'lying wonders' of the last time) there is nothing unusual; what will make them harbingers of the Parousia is the peculiar form which they will assume immediately before the event, and of which former occasions furnished no example. In the great discourse of Christ (Matt. xxiv.), recorded by the three Evangelists, His Second Coming is closely connected with the impending judgment on Jerusalem; recalling to mind that feature of ancient prophecy above mentioned, the combination of proximate and remote events in the same prediction. That the Apostles did not, at the time, distinguish between these two events is plain from their request, 'Tell us when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of Thy coming, and of the end of the world?' (ver. 3); but in the Epistles the events no longer appear in connection, although the coming of Christ is spoken of as possibly at hand (see on this point § 105). There is a coming of Christ now under the form of *visitation*, as in the case of Jerusalem, and in the warnings addressed to the seven churches of Asia (Apoc. ii.-iii.); there was a coming of Christ when His divine Vicar, the Holy Ghost, came down on the Church on the Day of Pentecost; there will be a coming to judgment. The first and the last have a certain resemblance to each other, which may be the reason why in the

discourse (Matt. xxiv.) the lines of demarcation are not strictly drawn. It would be foreign to the province of dogmatic theology to discuss all the matters connected with the Second Advent ; in fact, it would involve an exposition of the Apocalypse. Only some salient points can be noticed.

§ 109. *Chiliasm.*

By this term is denoted the opinion, extensively prevalent in the second and third centuries of our era, and from time to time revived in the Church, that the Advent of Christ will be followed by a millennium, lasting (as the name imports) a thousand years, the main features of which will be : the personal reign of Christ on earth during that time, and a resurrection, previously to the general one, of the just, who will reign with Christ ; a binding of Satan, and the enjoyment by the Church of a measure of spiritual and temporal felicity beyond anything yet experienced ; the conversion of the Jews as a nation, and their restoration to the promised land ; the release of Satan at the expiration of the thousand years ; a fresh and terrible outbreak of Satanic agency ; and at the moment when things are at their worst, and Satan and his host are arrayed against Christ and His Church, the appearance of the Saviour, a victory over the powers of evil, and the final judgment. Subordinate differences of view may be found in different writers on the subject, but the above would probably be accepted as a correct general description of Chiliasm. What all agree in is, that the Second Advent will be a pre-millennial one—introducing, not following, the millennium ; and, further, that this blissful period will be the result, not of the ordinary development of Christianity as we see it, but of some extraordinary interposition from heaven.

Chiliasm, even in its most pronounced forms, may appeal to antiquity. In the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas an analogy is drawn between the six days of creation ending in the day of sabbatical rest and the six thousand years during which the Church is to be militant, to be succeeded by the corresponding spiritual Sabbath of the millennium ; one thousand years being in God's sight but a day. According to Eusebius (Hist. iii. 28), Cerinthus taught that the kingdom of heaven would be established on earth, with Jerusalem as its centre, and that the millennium would consist in an unlimited indulgence of sensual delights. This noxious element has appeared more than once in the history of the doctrine, and notably at the time of the Reformation among the Anabaptists and other enthusiasts ; not without a leaning to dangerous political theories, such as the community of goods (see

our Article xxviii.). It led both branches of the Protestant Church formally to repudiate Chiliasm,* without distinguishing between the doctrine itself and the travesty of it by carnally-minded persons. The principal Protestant theologians of the seventeenth century summarily dismiss it as a dream. To return to earlier history, Justin Martyr, admitting that some rejected the tenet, professes himself as favourable to it. Irenæus tells us that Papias, a disciple of St. John, and contemporary with Polycarp, was an advocate of pre-millennarianism; and that he himself had been induced to adopt it by certain presbyters who professed to have seen that apostle.† Tertullian, while repudiating the sensual fancies of Cerinthus, intimates that, at least in its purer form, Chiliasm was the prevalent doctrine in his time, not excepting his friends the Montanists, who might have been supposed unfriendly to it.‡ It may, then, be assumed that during the first three centuries, in one form or another, the pre-millennial Advent, with the reign of the saints on earth for a thousand years, in the enjoyment of bliss only short of that of heaven itself, was the general expectation of Christians. How far it found its way into the Church, through the Jewish converts, is uncertain; but it is not improbable that the latter did not, with their conversion, renounce the views touching the kingdom of Messiah in which they had been nurtured, and that the Gentile Christians, in order to smooth the path for such conversions, either avoided the subject or adopted the Jewish interpretation of prophecy. The first decided opposition came, as might be expected, from the school of Alexandria. To Origen, with his platonic notions respecting the evil of matter, the idea of a physical millennium was very distasteful. His writings against it produced some ferment in Egypt, which was with difficulty allayed by Dionysius of Alexandria, who, though himself a disciple of Origen, by his prudent management reconciled the disputants. About the middle of the fourth century Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, wrote against Dionysius, and with this the controversy in the East seems to have come to a close. In the West the popular belief held its ground, and was defended by Lactantius, and Victorinus bishop of Pettau. But Augustine gave it its death-blow. He avows that he himself at one time had believed in a millennium, but had abandoned it for the allegorical interpretation of Apoc. xx. 1-6, which he proceeds to explain at length. The present Christian dispensation is the millennium; the first resurrection is the spiritual one of which St. Paul speaks (Rom. vi. 4); the binding of Satan means that

* Conf. Augs., P. i., 18. Conf. Helv. (Expos. simp.), c. xi.

† Adv. hæc., v., c. 33.

‡ Adv. Mar., iii., c. 24.

by Divine grace souls are rescued from his dominion.* In the Middle Ages the temporal supremacy of the Church assisted to divert the thoughts of Christians from a future reigning with Christ on earth. Already the Church enjoyed this privilege: kings had become her nursing-fathers; Antichrists had confessed themselves vanquished; the saints reigned in a veritable millennium. It is only in recent times that interest in the subject has again revived. Of this England and Germany share between them the credit. Joseph Mede and J. A. Bengel, in their respective countries, were the founders of the modern pre-millennarian schools, which, agreeing in the fundamental point of a millennium yet to come and on earth, differ widely in their descriptions of it, particularly on the question whether, along with the restoration of the Jews to Canaan and their hegemony over other nations, the Jewish sacrificial institute and temple services are to be revived in Jerusalem.

As regards Scripture evidence, the weak point of Chiliasm is that Old Testament prophecy and the Apocalypse, confessedly symbolical in character, are the foundations on which it chiefly rests. Neither in the discourses of Christ nor in the Apostolic epistles is any clear trace of it to be found. The tares and the wheat, we are told, are to grow together until the harvest, and no separation is to be made until that time comes (Matt. xiii. 39-40), that is, until the end of the world. But a personal reign of Christ on earth with His risen saints seems to imply a separation before the end arrives. The second Advent is apparently followed at once by the judgment (Matt. xxv. 31), but a millennium interposes 1,000 years between the two. In 1 Thess. iv. 16 the contrast is between the departed and the quick at the advent, not between the resurrection of the just and that of the rest. Such passages as 'I appoint unto you' (the Apostles) 'a kingdom as My Father hath appointed unto Me: that ye may eat and drink at My table in My kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel' (Luke xxii. 29, 30); or 'I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine until I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom' (Matt. xxvi. 29); can hardly, in the absence of others more explicit, sustain the theories that have been built upon them. It is otherwise with Apoc. xx. 1-6, which, indeed, is the stronghold of Chiliasm, and it must be admitted that, except on some such hypothesis, the passage is not an easy one to explain. The event predicted is to take place after the destruction of 'the beast' and 'the false prophet' (chap. xix. 20), that is, Antichrist and his host, and therefore cannot be referred to any past epoch in the history of the Church, still less,

* De civit. Dei., xx., 7-9.

with Augustine, to the introduction of Christianity. The period of 1,000 years may indeed signify only any complete number, but that by 'the first resurrection' is meant (according to Augustine) regeneration by the Holy Spirit, can hardly be reconciled with the statement that 'the rest of the dead lived not again till the 1,000 years were accomplished' (v. 5). Are these dead subsequently raised to be understood as merely regenerated? If this is inadmissible, and their resurrection is to be taken literally, why not the former? As regards the silence of the earlier Scriptures on the subject, it may be contended that revelation is progressive, and that it may have been reserved for the last book of the Canon (according to the usual date) to furnish this addition to our knowledge; and for the extravagant or sensual pictures of it soberer interpreters may disclaim responsibility, every doctrine of Scripture, it may be urged, is liable to such perversions. Thus much may be said for the literal interpretation of the Apocalyptic passage in the main; but attempts to fix the *times* of the great events which it describes have so often proved themselves erroneous that we may well abstain from such calculations. Nitzsch well observes, 'The prophecy of Scripture is an inspired vision and description of the future of the kingdom of God, always indeed occasioned by contemporary events of history, but reaching in a perspective, more or less shortened, to the consummation of the plan of redemption. The evidence of a Divine providence in temporal history, and the bearing of the latter on the fulfilment of the promise (Gen. iii. 15), not literal exactness in detail, are its proper subjects. Hence it expounds history only in its leading features, and so far as it illustrates fundamental spiritual truths; analogy and symbolism are its appropriate methods of expression. Chronology it does not deal with; the prophetic times are symbolical. The prophets themselves in their most important prophecies, were ignorant of the times when these things should be (1 Pet. i. 11).'*

It will be wise, then, not to attempt to expound the vision of Apoc. xx. 1-6 too literally, either as regards the duration, or the details, of the state of things therein described. Nevertheless, the symbolism of Scripture is generally that of a fact, not of an idea; and this rule applies here. We may not be able to distinguish accurately between symbol and fact, or, in view of the parables which predict a mixed state of good and bad until the end, to understand how the wheat can, before that end comes, be gathered into a garner; or how such a serious apostasy as is described in 2 Thess. ii. can be supposed to take place after the millennium; 'the times or the seasons which the Father hath

* System der christlichen Lehre, § 35.

put in his own power' it is not for us to know; still, the vision must be intended for our instruction. It seems to justify a general expectation that there awaits the Church—after its long and painful history, culminating in a special crisis of tribulation—a season of spiritual revival, of expansion of its boundaries, of victory over the powers of evil, such as has not been experienced since the Pentecostal effusion, and surpassing even that. And, moreover, that this revival will take place on earth, and before the final end arrives. If Chiliasm did nothing more than direct our attention to this prospect, it would still deserve a niche in what may be called the esoteric department of revelation. Christians are bound to inquire into the meaning of such passages as Apoc. xx. 1-6, even if the result of the examination should never pass the bounds of probability.

§ 110. *Resurrection of the Body.*

The intermediate state is an imperfect one, among other reasons especially for this: that, however the soul in that state may not be wholly 'unclothed' yet, the body with which it is invested cannot be that which, under the article of the resurrection of the body, Scripture leads us to expect. Like the state itself, it must be of an intermediate nature. In the Creed we profess what we learn from Scripture, that the body, which is sown in corruption will be raised in incorruption, that the apparent victory of death is only an apparent one, and that the conqueror must himself eventually succumb to an Almighty Deliverer, at whose summons all that are in the graves shall come forth, to a resurrection either of life or the reverse. Thus was set at rest the great question which by the heathen philosopher was treated as unworthy of consideration (Acts xvii. 32), and even among the Jews was so far a matter of doubt that the ancient saints 'through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage' (Heb. ii. 15). In the case of the Christian his assurance of a resurrection to life rests not merely on the declarations of Scripture to that effect, but on facts which guarantee it—the resurrection of Christ the Head which is a pledge of that of the body, and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, through whom the resurrection is effected. Once revealed, the fact is seen to harmonize with the plan of redemption. Man was created not subject to death, but capable of dying; through sin death came in, not as a natural condition of humanity, but as a penalty, an interruption of the intended order of things; it is obvious that redemption would be incomplete if it did not restore the whole man, body as well as soul, to at least Adam's state before the fall. The body is

equally with the soul the handiwork of God, and indeed was first created; and it was indispensable to the part which man was to fill in the newly-created world (Gen. i. 28). A redemption which should end with a purely spiritual resurrection, such as that of Hymenæus and Philetus, would fail to repair the damage caused by sin, and be anything but a full restoration of fallen man. It would reduce the hope of the Christian to the 'blessed immortality' of Deism; instead of the very definite object of St. Paul's expectation, 'we look for the Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body into the likeness of His glorious body, according to the mighty working whereby He is able to subdue all things to Himself' (Phil. iii. 21). The Apostle here, as usual, includes himself amongst those who might expect to see the coming of Christ; but whether they shall be changed or raised, it is the same great event to which the hope of Christians is directed.

As regards the process by which the new body comes into being, Scripture gives us little information. It has already been observed (§ 106) that, however the body of the intermediate state (if such there be) may form a link between our present body and that of the resurrection, the latter, in the last resort, comes into existence by an act of Almighty power. It is only with reservations that we can accept Martensen's hypothesis, that the future resurrection of the flesh has the way prepared for it by a hidden process of natural development, here and in the separate state.* Still less does Delitzsch's view commend itself, that the sacraments, especially the Eucharist, implants in us a seed of immortality, an elixir vitæ (φάρμακον ἀθανασίας), which issues in the resurrection body.† The similitude used by St. Paul of the grain of corn sown in the ground and reproducing itself in the ear does indeed furnish an analogy sufficient to refute the followers of Hymenæus and Philetus, but it does not hold good on all points. The fact that the produce is the same *in kind* as the grain that was sown, seems to imply, no doubt, that in the latter there was contained a germ or type, by force of which, according to laws impressed on it by God, it reappears in the ear; but it is not the *same grain* that reappears, whereas the resurrection body is the same body that was laid in the grave, though in a glorified condition. For the Apostle's purpose it was sufficient to note the fact that the grain dies, and appears again under a new form. So, he justly argues, the body may die, and yet be raised in another condition. An important distinction, however, is that the death of the grain is the appointed natural means of its reappearance; whereas the death of the body was not the appointed means of its

* Dog., § 276.

† Bib. Psych., vii.

transition to a higher condition ; it is *unnatural* to man to die, and therefore the restoration of the body to the disembodied soul cannot proceed in the way of natural law ; in other words, must be miraculous. And so it is represented in Scripture : ' They that are in the graves shall hear His voice, and shall come forth ' (John v. 28, 29) ; ' the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible ' (1 Cor. xv. 52) ; ' I am the resurrection and the life ' (John xi. 25). The resurrection of Christ, the pledge and pattern of ours, is described in the same way. It was not, indeed, possible that he should be holden of death (Acts ii. 24) ; there was a meetness for and a necessity of His rising again ; and yet the event itself is ascribed to a special exercise of divine power ; it was God who ' raised Him up, having loosed the pains of death ' (*Ibid.*).

The *time* of the resurrection appears in Scripture immediately connected with the second Advent ; which, as has been observed (§ 110), is not easy to reconcile with the millennarian scheme. It seems inconsistent, too, with another opinion, that the resurrection (at least, of the saints) is a successive work, commencing with those who are said to have come out of their graves at the death of Christ (Matt. xxvii. 53), and thenceforward going on to the present time. As each soul in paradise becomes ripe for the change (so runs the theory) it is restored to its body ; and these are the risen Christians who are represented as accompanying the Saviour from heaven, and forming with the changed quick His assessors at the judgment. The great name of J. A. Bengel is sometimes associated with this opinion ; but though he was a decided pre-millennarian, and quotes,* seemingly with approval, Tertullian's remarkable words, ' The resurrection of the saints goes on during the millennium, sooner or later, according to their merits,' it does not appear that he extends this continuous resurrection beyond the millennium. A certain order and succession of procedure may be thought expressed in such passages as 1 Cor. xv. 23 : ' Every man in his own order : Christ the first-fruits ; afterwards they that are Christ's at His coming ; then cometh the end ' ; 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17 : ' The dead in Christ shall rise first, then we which are alive and remain,' etc. ; but that the time extends over a thousand years is another matter, and it is not the impression which the plain statements of Scripture convey. The resurrection of the saints at Christ's death is an isolated and exceptional fact, and can hardly be taken as initiating a series.

The main question on this subject is the relation of our present body to the future one ; how far the latter will be the same body,

* Gnomon, Apoc., xx. 5.

in what respects it will agree with, and in what it will differ from, its predecessor. The view of the older theologians, Protestant and Romanist, that the resurrection-body will be the same substantially, though differing in qualities, as the body that was laid in the grave; that the particles of matter which, in the process of decomposition, were scattered far and wide and passed into many combinations, will by a miracle be collected together again, and wrought into an organization the same as that in which the soul here dwelt;* is encumbered with many difficulties. It is founded probably on a too literal application of the figurative language of the vision in Ezek. xxxvii. The analogies employed by St. Paul are rather against such a supposition. The ear of corn which springs from the decayed grain is not composed of the particles which went to form that grain, and is only the same in the sense of being the same *in kind*, as has been already observed. 'All flesh is not the same flesh,' that is, although the resurrection-body will be 'flesh,' as Christ's body after He rose was 'flesh and bones,' yet there are various kinds of flesh, and the flesh which turned to corruption is not necessarily the flesh of the risen body. This is all that is necessary to the Apostle's argument, and the Apostles' Creed makes no further demand on our faith. 'I believe in the resurrection,' not of the body (*corporis*) but of the flesh (*carnis*), as against the notion of an ocular illusion, or the doctrine of Hymenæus, Philetus, and their followers, ancient and modern.† The particles of our present bodies are in a state of continual flux; they undergo a complete change in certain intervals; which set of particles, those in existence at death or prior combinations, would, on the supposition referred to, be the subject of the divine agency? The truth is, what is permanent in our bodies is not these changing particles, but the *elementary* substances of which they are composed, and which belong to all material bodies as distinguished from mere spirit. These remain permanent, while the particles come and go; they will be found, too, in the glorified body, but glorified and with corresponding surroundings. This last point it is necessary to bear in mind, in order to understand the Apostle's argument. The constituents of our present body derive their nutriment from the air, earth, water, etc., of the

* Resurrectio mortuorum formaliter consistit in reproductione, seu reparatione ejusdem quod per mortem cecidit corporis; ex atomis seu particulis illius corporis; hinc inde disjectis atque dissipatis; in reduntione ejusdem cum animâ. Hollaz., P. iii., § 2, c. 9, Q. 24.

† Credo in carnis resurrectionem (Apostles' Creed). The Nicene Creed has, 'I look for the resurrection of the dead,' and nothing more. The Athanasian is fuller: 'At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies'; and true it is that the soul will find itself in its old habitation, but that habitation changed and renewed.

present earth; a glorified body may in some analogous manner be nourished from without, but if so, it must be from a glorified environment. And this, in fact, Scripture foretells. 'The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now,' but 'it waits for the manifestation of the sons of God,' and its expectation is not vain; for 'the creature itself shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God' (Rom. viii. 19-22); 'we, according to His promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness' (2 Pet. iii. 13). The risen saints, then, will find a new paradise (and on this earth) prepared for them; all creation will share in the spiritual change; and the renewed *elementary* substances of their bodies will be repaired (if the particles of those bodies, too, are in a flux) from a renewed earth and heaven.* On the whole it appears that the future body will not be composed of the *dissecta membra* of its predecessor, and yet that it will, in the constituents which form a body, be the same, and find itself in a corresponding new world.

There will be found another point, too, of identity between the present and the future body. Each individual body now possesses a certain organization, or arrangement, of its constituent elements, whereby it is distinguished from the countless millions of other bodies around it, even as the soul which inhabits it is not a simple being, but a complex one, to which no other soul is exactly alike. It is this peculiar organization which moulds the features, the stature, the expression, into an individual whole. If it be destroyed, although the constituents of a body may remain, it is no longer the same man whom we have known, and with whom we have held intercourse. Soul and body are thus wedded together; and when the soul is, after a temporary separation, reunited to its former companion, it will find itself embodied in the same peculiar organization of which it retains the memory. It will be in its old home; in the body familiar to it by years of association, with which its history and memories are inseparably connected. This identity of organization is necessary to the mutual recognition of the blessed departed; and the heavenly state would be shorn of its glory if it were supposed that husbands and wives, parents and children,

* Whether the glorified body will need such reparation may be matter of doubt. In view of such passages as Matt. xxii. 30, 'In the resurrection they are as the angels'; and 1 Cor. vi. 13, 'Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats, but God shall destroy both it and them,' we can hardly assume that the resurrection-body will need to be replenished like ours. Yet Christ, after His resurrection, partook of natural food (Luke xxiv. 43); and though His body may not at that time have been fully glorified, it could not have been a natural body (Χοϊκόν).

relatives and friends, would not meet there as those who had only been parted for a time, and were no strangers to each other. All such notions, therefore, as that of Origen, that the saints will be raised in the form of spheroids as the most perfect of mathematical figures; involving, of course, the demolition of distinctive organization; must be dismissed as unscriptural.

Thus, there are two extremes to be avoided as regards the relation of the present to the future body. It is not *de fide* that the resurrection will consist in bringing together the decomposed parts of the earthly body, and combining them into a new one; such a miracle is indeed conceivable, but it involves great difficulties. But it is *de fide* that the new body will be one of 'flesh' of some kind or other. On the other hand, the tendency of the speculations already referred to; as that a 'nerve-body' (*grund-gestalt*, as Martensen calls it) accompanying the soul into the intermediate state is the germ of the resurrection-body; or that the soul in that state develops from itself a body; is to separate too much the resurrection-body from the present one, and to reduce the miracle to a process of nature. The risen saints will appear in their former bodies, but with new qualities and new surroundings. And such seems to be the meaning of the Apostle's words, 'There is a natural body and there is a spiritual body' (1 Cor. xv. 44), or the same body may exist in two different states. By the natural body he does not mean that in which Adam before the fall was created,* but the body which we inherit from fallen Adam, the body which is sown in corruption because it is the seat of the sin which cleaves even to the regenerate. The spiritual body, on the contrary, is the body which even here is the temple of the Holy Ghost, and which hereafter will be endued with qualities fitting it to be a perfect organ of the sinless soul. It will be raised in incorruption, not to die again; it will be raised in glory, no longer subject to the humiliations of its present condition, or to congenital or accidental blemishes; it will be raised in power, capable of fully responding to the volitions of the soul—volitions which are now impeded by the weakness of its instrument. Of some of the bodily organs the use will no longer exist, 'they neither marry nor are given in marriage,' they live an angelic life; but, withal, the soul will feel itself no stranger in this its house from heaven.

One more illustration is used by St. Paul: 'There is one glory

* 'The Lord God formed man of the dust of the earth, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul' (Gen. ii. 7). So far, even Adam, unfallen, had only a *σῶμα ψυχικόν*—a body animated by a natural intelligent soul, as the bodies of the lower animals are by a natural impersonal soul. He had not a *σῶμα πνευματικόν*.

of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars ; for one star differeth from another star in glory.' As far as the argument for a resurrection is concerned, he might have contented himself with the remark that 'there are celestial bodies and bodies terrestrial,' just as there are different kinds of flesh ; but he goes on to note the fact that among the celestial bodies themselves there are differences of glory. This is an additional circumstance ; and seems intended to intimate that, although all Christians will rise with spiritual bodies, there will be amongst them, even as regards the body, degrees of glory, in proportion to the measure of sanctity attained, or of service rendered, in the preliminary state of probation.

This seems all that Scripture reveals, and all that it concerns us to know, on this subject. The ingenuity of the Schoolmen raised numerous other questions, some of which savour of vain curiosity, while others are of still more questionable character ; and to such Scripture furnishes no answer. It is enough for us to be told that 'our vile body' will be transformed into the likeness of Christ's glorious body ; a privilege which would not have belonged to Adam and his posterity even if sin had not intervened to arrest the natural progress of the race from one degree of glory to another.

§ 111. *The Judgment.*

The well-known saying, 'The world's history is the world's judgment,' contains truth so far that the history of mankind furnishes proof of a superintending Providence, which, on the whole, has shown itself on the side of virtue and against vice, which has *distinguished* (the proper meaning of judgment, κρίσις) between good and evil. But the last judgment which Christians look forward to is a matter of prophecy, not of history ; of faith, not of sight ; it is the final issue of the evolution of the kingdom of God, the manifestation of the Church in its essential glory, and the separation from it of heterogeneous admixtures. In all the creeds it appears as an article of faith.

There is a twofold spiritual judgment mentioned in Scripture ; one affecting each individual on his quitting this life, as we learn from the parable of Dives and Lazarus, retributory in character, but not final ; the other both retributory and final. The former is an individual process, is successive, and takes place in the unseen world ; the latter is public, applies to mankind collectively, occurs at one time, viz., the Second Advent of Christ, and is personally conducted by the Redeemer. So it is represented in Scripture : 'He hath appointed a day on which He will

judge the world in righteousness, by that Man whom He hath ordained ; whereof He hath given assurance in that He hath raised Him from the dead' (Acts xvii. 31). 'The day of the Lord,' 'that day,' are common expressions in the Epistles, denoting that the subject was familiar to those to whom the Apostles wrote, and needed no explanation. There is a manifest propriety in the incarnate Son's being appointed Judge. Like all other acts *ad extra*, this one is ultimately that of the whole Trinity ; but it 'terminates,' in the language of the schools, in the Son. Through the Son redemption was accomplished ; through His appointment the Gospel is to be preached to all nations ; the history of the Church, and of the world, too, so far as its history is connected with that of the Church, is presided over by Him ('All power is given unto Me in heaven and earth' Matt. xxviii. 18) ; who so fit, when the end comes, to announce publicly what this plan of salvation has issued in, who have accepted and who have rejected it ? To which may be added, that He who as God can institute a process of inquiry of the most searching character, 'bringing to light the hidden things of darkness, and making manifest the counsels of the hearts,' will, as man, and one who knows what temptation and suffering are, be specially qualified to enter into all the circumstances of each case, and to apportion praise and blame accordingly.

But how far may this day be called a day of *judgment* ? The analogy of human tribunals must not be applied too literally. The ordinary notion we form of these is that, whereas before the trial commences the guilt or innocence of the accused party is matter of doubt, now the case is judicially investigated, evidence produced, and, after the verdict of the jury, sentence pronounced. The prisoner is assumed not to be guilty before proof, nor is he acquitted before his innocence is established. The reason is that both judge and jury are fallible men, who can neither read the heart nor possess a certain knowledge of all the facts of the case. A human trial, therefore, is strictly a process of *investigation*. But we cannot ascribe this character to the so-called judgment of the quick and dead. The Judge is omniscient, and has no need of evidence to convince him ; He presides with a perfect knowledge of the character and history of everyone who stands before Him ; He has already in Himself pronounced a judgment from which there is no appeal, and respecting which there can be no mistake. It is evident, in fact, that the great day will be one rather of *publication* and *execution* than of judgment strictly so-called. In fact, a human judge would never open his proceedings as we are told Christ will open them—'Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the

world'; 'Depart from Me, ye cursed,' etc.—because the business of a human judge is to investigate the case, not to anticipate the sentence. The Saviour will be perfectly acquainted with the 'work and labour of love' on the one hand, which He rewards, and with the neglect of Christian duty on the other, which He condemns; and the judgment will be merely public proof that He had taken note of this diversity, unknown to the parties concerned. An ingenious writer urges in favour of the sleep of the soul in the intermediate state, that, on the other hypothesis, 'each man would not only know his final condition, but actually enter upon his reward or punishment, before the resurrection, immediately on his death; so that the judgment would be, in fact, forestalled.'* But whether the soul sleeps in the separate state or not, the judgment is equally forestalled. If probation is at an end with this life, death fixes the destiny of each individual; if it continues through the intermediate state, the judgment closes it; so that, in either case, the judgment only publishes a foregone conclusion. To the individual himself, any doubts respecting his position are then removed; but the Judge takes His seat on the throne with no such doubts—those before Him are in His view either blessed or cursed.

These remarks may assist us in reconciling some statements of Scripture which at first sight seem at variance with each other. The judgment is described as universal—'He will judge the world in righteousness' (Acts xvii. 31); 'We' (Christians) 'must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ' (2 Cor. v. 10)—and yet the saints are spoken of as exempt from this liability, and even as assessors of Christ at the last day. St. Paul blames the Corinthians for appealing to heathen tribunals in trivial matters of dispute: 'Is there not a wise man among you? Not one that shall be able to judge between his brethren? Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world? And if the world shall be judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the smallest matters?' (1 Cor. vi. 1-3). To interpret this merely of the convincing and reproving office which the Church, by its very existence, exercises towards a sinful world, is unsatisfactory; not to mention that the judgment in question is described as future—'The saints shall judge' (κρίνοῦσιν) 'the world.' Other passages, too, if not directly to the point, seem to refer to some special privilege. Such are: 1 Thess. iv. 14, 'Them which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him'; and ver. 17 of the same chapter, 'We which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them' (the risen saints) 'to meet the Lord in the air.' The fact is, that for neither saints nor the world is the last day one of judicial inquiry, but of pro-

* Scripture revelations on a future state. L. iv.

mulgation and separation. The saints will have already, in this life, judged themselves; they will have repented of their sins and accepted Christ as a Saviour, and therefore will not be judged of the Lord (1 Cor. xi. 31). These *cannot* come into condemnation. The Lord knows them that are His, whether in life or after death; transfers them at death to paradise; and at the last day pronounces them publicly (what, perhaps, was not known before) the blessed of His Father. But both for those on the right and those on the left hand the day will be one of public attestation. The prerogative of the saints, according to Matt. xxv., is that they will *first* receive this attestation; and then they may well be supposed as assisting at the judgment of the rest.

The essential feature of this final act is the separation of Christ's mystical body from all incongruous admixtures. Neither in this life, nor in the intermediate state, is this perfectly accomplished. In the latter, indeed, the departed saints, whether of the Old or the New Dispensation, occupy a locality of their own, into which evil does not enter. But at the Saviour's coming the Church militant on earth must necessarily be a mixed body, and so may be the inhabitants of Hades itself. The meaning of the judgment-day is that this state of things is no longer to continue. On that day the tares and the wheat will be not only discriminated by an unerring eye, but they will be no longer in juxtaposition. 'The Son of Man shall send forth His angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity: then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father' (Matt. xiii. 41-43). This will be the 'manifestation' (properly the revelation, ἀποκάλυψις) 'of the sons of God' (Rom. viii. 19). At present they are more or less hidden; severed publicly from the ungodly world, whether within or outside the Church, they will *appear* with Christ in glory (Col. iii. 3, 4).

§ 112. *Apokatastasis.*

The word is derived from Acts iii. 21: 'Whom' (Jesus Christ) 'the heavens must receive until the times of restitution' (ἀποκαταστάσεως) 'of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all His holy prophets since the world began.' It is matter of debate whether the relative ὧν refers to χρόνων or to πάντων, which immediately precedes it. If the former, we must translate, 'the times of the restitution of all things, of which times the prophets have spoken'; and this may seem to favour the doctrine of universal restitution. If the latter, the sense will be 'the restitution of all things which the prophets declare should be restored,' which has no bearing on that doctrine. From so ambiguous a passage no positive conclusions can be drawn.

The first writer who openly taught the doctrine was Origen, and he has had followers both in ancient and in modern times. All fallen beings, he held, not excluding the devil and his angels, will, if they do not repent under this dispensation, pass through æons of chastisement proportioned in length to their demerits ; but in the end, through these sufferings and the instruction of superior spirits, they will experience a salutary change, some sooner some later, and be restored to the favour of God and a substantial measure of bliss. There will be plenty of time for these healing influences to operate, for æon will follow æon in an endless succession. Both the Gregories (of Nazienzus and of Nyssa), the latter more openly than the former, exhibit traces of the influence of Origen ; and the same may be said of some teachers of the school of Antioch. Origen was condemned at the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 543, but his views continued from time to time to reappear in the Church. Scotus Erigena, in the Middle Ages, defended a theory similar in character. At the Reformation the Anabaptists adopted it, as we learn from the Augsburg Confession : ‘ They ’ (the Protestants) ‘ condemn the Anabaptists who think that both for devils and men there will be a termination of future punishment ’ (A. xxvii.). About the middle of the eighteenth century in Germany a great impulse was given in this direction by F. C. Öttinger, a mystical writer, and more of a Theosoph than of a theologian, but a deep thinker and remarkable for his piety, the friend and admirer of J. A. Bengel. One of his sayings has passed into a proverb, ‘ Corporeity is the end of the ways of God.’ Relying chiefly on 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28, and Ephes. i. 9-11, he argues that all things must eventually be gathered up under one head, Christ, and every jarring discord, after serving its end, resolve itself into harmony. With such a divine purpose a permanent alienation of the creature from the Creator is incompatible. Restored at last, condemned sinners will render thanks to God for their chastisements, which they will then see to have been paternal and for their good. As regards Bengel himself, the evidence is not so clear. His sentiments, as reported by his biographer Burk (chap. xiii.),¹ are as follows : ‘ The restoration of all things is not a fit subject for public disputation.* That the word *αἰώνιος* has two significations is undeniable, and thus the Scriptural expressions *κόλασις αἰώνιος*, *ζωὴ αἰώνιος*, seem to admit of unequal meaning. . . . On the *absolute* eternity of future punishment, it is worded in the Latin edition of the Augsburg

* It is doubtful whether the saying commonly ascribed to Bengel, ‘ He who holds the doctrine of universal restitution, and publicly preaches it, is telling tales of God out of school,’ is really his, or that of his reporter. But the extract in the text from Burk’s Life seems similar in sentiment.

Confession *qui statuunt*, "who determine"; but in the German it is *qui docent*, "who teach"; which latter pleases me better, for in holding this doctrine we ought to keep it to ourselves, and not to force it on others, for it is considered an undecided point. . . . "Until thou hast paid the very last mite"; there will be no remission till the last payment is made, the whole of it will be exacted and enforced. But surely the expression "until" cannot mean the same thing as absolute eternity. There are sacred truths which forbid us to insist on the eternity of hell torments with that emphasis of absoluteness which we find in the well-known hymn, "Eternity, thou thunder-word," etc. It would seem, then, that this eminent and pious Biblical critic rather inclined to Öttinger's views, but held it prudent to abstain from public discussion or preaching of them. In this century the greatest name on the side of universal restitution is that of Schleiermacher. He remarks in his 'Glaubenslehre' that if future punishment is supposed to consist in the anguish of an awakened conscience, this would prove that the condemned are in a better frame of mind than they were while living, and give better promise of recovery (*e.g.*, Dives in the parable seems improved by his sufferings, and displays a sense of his former misconduct). Self-reproach for neglected or rejected salvation must contain in itself some idea of that salvation, and also a capability of partaking of it; the idea of it must alleviate present misery, the capability of it presupposes a salutary change of mind. To which we may add that the bliss of the saints cannot be supposed perfect as long as they know that a considerable part of mankind is consigned to endless misery; this part possibly comprising many with whom they had been here connected by ties of relationship or friendship. And that they must have this knowledge is undeniable. However distinct the abodes of the blest and the lost may be, ignorance that many are lost would hardly be compatible with a perfect state; and if it could, the announcements of the day of judgment would render it impossible. Commiseration would be heightened by the remembrance on the part of the blest of a time when they themselves were no better than others, and equally deserving of condemnation. On the whole, the milder view has as much to say for itself as the sterner, and has as much support from Scripture.* Such are the arguments of Schleiermacher, who, accordingly, expresses a hope that no soul will eventually be lost, the only difference being that some will be restored sooner, some later (see § 76).

The considerations urged by Origen and his followers, that sin is rather a weakness, deserving of pity, than an active principle

* Glaubenslehre, § 163, Anhang.

of enmity against God, and that the disproportion between endless punishment and the sins of a few years casts a reflection on the justice of God, are met by the fact that the atonement provided to do away the guilt of sin necessitated the incarnation and death of the second Person of the Holy Trinity. In presence of this stupendous fact, objections from human reason, or theosophic speculations, are reduced to silence. The question is, what does Scripture say on the subject? It must be admitted that certain passages, especially in St. Paul's epistles, have not, on the other hypothesis, as yet received a fully satisfactory interpretation. 'As through one trespass the judgment came unto all men to condemnation, even so through one act of righteousness the free gift came unto all men to justification of life. For as through the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners, even so, through the obedience of the one shall the many be made righteous' (Rom. v. 18, 19). The parallelism seems to demand that 'all men,' or 'the many,' should, in both clauses, signify the same thing. In ver. 12 it is literally all mankind (*πάντας ἀνθρώπους*) upon whom, the Apostle says, death, in consequence of Adam's sin, passed; and, in fact, death does so pass upon all men, even upon infants and others who cannot sin after 'the similitude of Adam's transgression' (ver. 14). That 'all men' and 'the many' (*οἱ πολλοὶ*) are equivalent in meaning, is proved by the substitution of the latter for the former in reference to the same fact, viz., the universal prevalence of death on account of Adam's sin (ver. 15). Why the Apostle should have used the one expression for the other we may not be able to say; but as regards the 'judgment' on all men, it is undeniable that he does so. The 'free-gift,' then, it is urged, must be equally comprehensive, and include 'all men,' eventually, if not at present, or under this dispensation. Various modes have been suggested of removing the difficulty. It is only the redeemed Church, say some, which the Apostle has in view in ver. 19, when he says, 'the many shall be made righteous'; but in the previous clause, 'the many were made sinners,' it is all mankind that is meant. He speaks of the Divine *intention* that all should be saved, say others; but, again, the previous clause refers to a condemnation in fact, and not merely in intention. The offers of the Gospel, it is urged, are addressed to all; the atonement is (objectively) *sufficient* for the whole world; but the expression 'the many shall be made' (*κατασταθήσονται*) 'righteous' seems to imply more than a mere possibility of being made so, not to remark that the same word (*κατεστάθησαν*) previously used must signify a real participation in Adam's fall. If we limit the salvation spoken of to the elect (as the Calvinistic expositors generally

do), why should not the consequences of the fall be also limited to a portion of mankind? The most probable solution appears to be that a tacit condition is implied in the Apostle's statement, thus; the many will be justified *on the supposition* that they believe in Christ; but it cannot be called quite satisfactory. 'He must reign until He hath put all enemies under His feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. And when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all' (1 Cor. xv. 26-28); this passage stands alone, as regards its matter, in the New Testament, a circumstance which adds greatly to its difficulties. But in general, its purport seems to be that the mediatorial office and saving work of Christ are to continue until all 'things shall be subdued unto Him' (ver. 8). Subdued in what sense? It may no doubt mean that the powers of evil (Satan and his host) shall be compelled to acknowledge Christ as Lord; and so may the passage Phil. ii. 10, 11 (which bears some resemblance to this one) be understood, 'that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father'; yet such an unwilling acknowledgment of the supreme dominion of Christ, such a forced submission covering an unreconciled hostility, seems to have little connection with the end aimed at, that 'God may be all in all,' that God may be the ruling principle in all creatures. 'That in the dispensation of times He might gather together all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth' (Ephes. i. 10; comp. Col. i. 20); a great expansion of Christ's saving work, both in heaven and on earth, seems here indicated, and the expression 'all things' apparently assigns no limit to it. In this instance, again, expositors have laboured, not with complete success, to reconcile St. Paul with other statements of Scripture. But since those statements are also part of Scripture, they must be allowed their full weight.

There are some general considerations which may well make us pause before committing ourselves positively to an interpretation of these passages in favour of a general Apokatastasis. The first is, that we might expect so very important a doctrine to be clearly revealed, instead of being left to be inferred from a few texts, and these chiefly from one inspired authority. If true, it must profoundly modify our views of sin and of redemption; and the rule is that the more important a point is, the more prominent is it on the page of Scripture. The second is, the apparent *finality* of the proceedings of the last day. Up to this point,

time and history are running their course, and no public separation of the tares and the wheat has taken place ; but with it the destiny of mankind, one way or the other, seems accomplished, and time itself will be no more. Either, then (as some have thought), the wicked will be annihilated, or there must remain a portion of the rational creation permanently alienated from its Maker. For Christ appears as a Judge, and no longer as a Saviour ; Satan and his angels are consigned to the place prepared for them ; and they who have cast in their lot with him follow him to this place. The drama seems closed, with no intimation of its revival thereafter. The third, and the most important, is that universal restitution is not according to the analogy of the method of redemption in the present life. That method is, to offer to all men salvation, and to offer, too, spiritual aid to all who seek it ; but also (see § 61) to confer special grace on some, whereby the will is inclined to accept such offers. That is, effectual calling is not universal ; were it so, there would be no such thing as election to eternal life. Not only so, but such calling seems subject to conditions, not so much as regards the degree of criminality of the previous life, as the *duration* of an unconverted state. It is seldom that they who have passed a long life of wilful sin are brought at last to repentance ; the change is not impossible, as the case of the thief on the cross proves, but it is of rare occurrence. This amounts to saying that evil may in some cases become a *second nature*, so that even effectual grace can find no point of contact to fasten upon. The conscience may, as Scripture terms it, be seared with a hot iron, the cautery destroying life in the part affected. If even in our short life of threescore years and ten such an insensibility to the motions of the Holy Spirit may supervene, to what a measure of obduracy they who, during the long ages of the intermediate state, continue to reject the overtures of mercy (if such are there made to them), may bring themselves, it is impossible to say. Even effectual grace works with and by the will, and presumes a scintilla of moral feeling and conscience still to exist ; but in the case supposed these traces of the image of God may be quite obliterated. The anguish which Schleiermacher makes a proof of improvement may be nothing but despair and impotent rage. To restore such a case of spiritual ruin would be almost equivalent to the creating of a new personality. This may be conceivable, but it would be turning the operations of grace, as we see them around us, into the operations of nature, working as *natura naturans*, by blind necessity and irresistible force. Free-will, a perilous prerogative but the condition of all virtue, would be annihilated. As long, then, as conversion involves, to any extent,

the co-operation of free-will, and proceeds not by a law of physical necessity, so long the possibility of endless punishment exists; on the simple ground that if the sin is endless so is the punishment.

§ 113. *New Heavens and a New Earth.*

Scripture opens with paradise lost and closes with paradise regained, and both on the present earth, though not both in its present condition. The first chapter of Genesis describes the creation of our planet out of nothing, and its preparation to be the abode of a sinless but not redeemed race of rational beings; the last two chapters of the Book of Revelation portray new heavens and a new earth, destined, after the solemnities of the last day, to be occupied by the redeemed Church. What lies between is the history of redemption in prophecy, and in its progress from the first coming of Christ to the second; its Pentecostal outburst, its revivals, its conflicts with sin and Satan, and the apparent termination of its probationary character simultaneously with the end of all things.

The same reasons which lead us to see in the resurrection of the body the complement of redemption in its fulness render also a renovation of the present earth matter of natural expectation. Man was created for the earth—to rule over and replenish it; in it was placed his paradise, and the sacrament of his immortality; there he was to enjoy the most intimate communion with his Maker. The lower creation, in all its departments, corresponded to this exalted destiny. When the Divine Artificer surveyed the work of His hands, He pronounced all ‘to be very good’ (Gen. i. 31). With the fall all nature sympathized, as far as it could sympathize with it—certainly all nature shared in it. ‘Cursed is the ground for thy sake; thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life’ (Gen. iii. 17, 18). The animals no longer enjoyed, under a mild rule, such happiness as they were capable of, but were transformed either into ravenous beasts of prey, to be destroyed lest they should overrun the earth, or into slaves of a tyrannical master; ‘the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now’ (Rom. viii. 22). Now, if the earth is to be the scene of paradise regained, it is necessary that a reversal of the curse should take place. New heavens and a new earth must supersede the old, otherwise there would be a discrepancy between the glorified Church and its local environment. Such is the strain of ancient prophecy: ‘Behold, I create new heavens and a new earth, and the former shall not be remembered, or come into mind: behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her

people a joy ; and I will rejoice in Jerusalem and joy in My people ; and the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying' ; 'They shall not labour in vain, nor bring forth for trouble ; for they are the seed of the blessed of the Lord, and their offspring with them' ; 'The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock ; they shall not hurt nor destroy in all My holy mountain, saith the Lord' (Isa. lxx. 17-25 ; comp. xi.). Let it be granted that such prophecies may be *applied* to the restoration of the Jews from captivity, or to the first advent of Christ in its *intended* results ; it is another question whether such partial fulfilments *exhaust* them. Especially when we observe that the New Testament takes up the theme, with an evident reference to prophecy, and almost in the same language. We Christians, St. Peter says, should be 'looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God, wherein the' (present) 'heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat : nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness' (2 Pet. iii. 12, 13). This is the 'regeneration' which our Lord speaks of in Matt. xix. 28, and to which the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews alludes when he says, 'unto the angels hath He not put in subjection the world to come' (τῇν ὀκταμένην) 'whereof we speak' (chap. ii. 5). This is the 'restitution' (ἀποκατάστασις) 'of all things, which the prophets foretold should be restored' at the second coming of Christ (Acts iii. 21). And this, though described in figurative language, is the fact underlying that language which the Apocalypse (in chaps. xxi., xxii.) presents to our view. The older expositors, owing to their practical ignoring of the intermediate state, and their making heaven and Gehenna to commence at once on death, were compelled to resolve the Apocalyptic vision into an affair of pure spirit ; but 'corporeity is the end of the ways of God.' We must be careful indeed not so to understand it as to introduce under the Gospel what is inconsistent with the fundamental truths of the latter, such as the restoration of the theocracy with its system of earthly sacrifice and priesthood ;* but neither must we take it to be a mere poetical description, without foundation in fact. If chap. xx. 1-10 refers to a millenium of some kind, which we are not concerned to deny, plainly with verse 11 commences a new vision, representing a new stage in the history of the kingdom of God. The dead, small and great, stand before God ; the books are opened, and the dead are judged out of those things which are written in the books (verses 11, 12). Then comes the end. The first heavens and the first

* Elliott, Hor. Apoc., vol. iv., p. 229 ff.

earth are passed away, and the New Jerusalem descends upon an earth 'delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God' (Rom. viii. 21).

By what agency the change will be effected is not left in doubt. 'The world which then was' (that is, before the Flood) 'being overflowed with water, perished'; but 'the heavens and the earth which now are, are reserved unto fire against the day of judgment' (2 Pet. iii. 6, 7). And so St. Paul: 'The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God' (2 Thess. i. 7, 8). Both water and fire are purifying, but the latter after a far more searching manner than the former. Whether the present system is to be destroyed and a new creation to succeed it, or merely to be transformed, we are not told; but the latter is more in accordance with the corresponding change in the bodies of the saints. These will not be annihilated but changed; and the earth, too, may pass through its baptism of fire, and yet remain substantially the same that it was.

'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him' (1 Cor. ii. 9); but the inspired seer was charged to record in the vision with which he was favoured certain salient particulars respecting the life to come; under symbol, indeed, but plain enough to the discerning mind. 'Wherein dwelleth righteousness'; from the second paradise, now comprising the whole earth, sin will for ever disappear, both the sin which cleaves to the individual Christian and impedes his progress, and the sin around him in the present world and even in the Church, so often a stumbling-block and a discouragement to him. With their cause, too, the effects of sin will cease; 'there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall be any more pain, for the former things are passed away' (Apoc. xxi. 4). 'The tabernacle of God is with men, and He shall dwell with them' (*Ibid.*, 3). It was the privilege of God's ancient people to have God dwelling in the midst of them; under earthly and typical forms indeed, the tabernacle and then the temple, the bright cloud filling the sacred edifice, the most holy place, with (as some think) the shekinah or symbol of the divine presence between the cherubim shadowing the mercy-seat, the ark of the covenant. There the divine sovereign of Israel was to be met, and from that place, through the high priest, He communicated with the people. These things were framed after 'the pattern shewed to Moses in the mount' (Heb. viii. 5); but the heavenly archetype itself now descends on earth, and fills it with a glory of which the bright cloud and the shekinah were but

images. In Eden God conversed with man face to face; under the typical dispensation through a human priesthood; in the new earth again face to face, inasmuch as 'the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne,' and who 'feeds His people and leads them to fountains of living waters' (Apoc. vii. 17), is also God manifest in the flesh, God Himself under the veil of humanity, a veil which mitigates indeed the splendour of 'the light which no man can approach unto' (1 Tim. vi. 16), but allows the full measure thereof which the glorified soul can receive to transpire. Therefore St. John saw no temple there, for the 'glory of God and the Lamb are the temple of it'; and therefore the inhabitants have no need 'of candle, for there shall be no night there,' nor of 'the light of the sun, for the Lord God giveth them light' (Apoc. xxi. 22; xxii. 5). This does not mean that the revolutions of day and night or of the seasons will cease, which would amount to a reversal of the laws which govern our present system; but that spiritually there will be no night there, the beams of the Sun of righteousness, shining direct on the soul, will never be intercepted by even a passing cloud of sin or sorrow. As to the new Jerusalem itself, 'the assembly and Church of the first-born, which are written in heaven' (Heb. xii. 23), now about to take up its abode on earth, it is in form a cube, signifying perfection,* has twelve gates, three towards each quarter of the world, to allow of free ingress and egress; guarded by twelve angels, not to bar the way, as in Gen. iii. 24, but to remove every impediment (comp. Ezek. xlvi. 30-35); the foundations bear the names of the twelve apostles, as, in fact, the Church is 'built upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets' (Ephes. ii. 20); the gates are of pearl, the street of pure gold, the walls adorned with precious stones; all that in the present world is valuable or beautiful lends its aid to convey some conception of the future inheritance of the saints (Apoc. xxi. 16-20). As the first Eden had its river to water the garden, and its tree of life, these are not wanting in the second; 'a pure river of the water of life, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb,' clothes the new earth with heavenly verdure, and on either side of it grows the tree of life with its monthly produce of fruit, and even its leaves endowed with salutary properties (Apoc. xxii. 1, 2). Those who live close to the tabernacle in the midst of the holy city partake of 'the fruit,' the choicest communications from heaven; but even its less advanced members, 'the nations,' have a share in the blessing; they move in a remoter orbit, but still under the

* 'This most holy place was a room of state of equal length, breadth, and height, or a cube of about twenty cubits (near thirty foot), all overlaid with pure gold. Lowman, Hebrew Ritual, c. ii.

attractive influence of the central sphere, and not without a measure of His beams; 'the leaves' are theirs, to repair what is wanting, to strengthen what is feeble, to turn their convalescence into spiritual health, and at last to prepare them for one of 'the many mansions' nearer to the fountain of light.*

Why, it may be asked, should the city be called 'the new Jerusalem'? and why should mention be made of 'nations' in a state of things where such distinctions may be thought out of place? Without endorsing the cruder speculations which have sometimes appeared in connection with the future of the Jewish people, it may be admitted that the prophecies of the Old Testament—such, for example, as Isa. lx., to which the Apocalypse evidently alludes—seem to extend beyond the mere incorporation into the Christian Church of 'the remnant, according to the election of grace' (Rom. xi. 5) of the Jewish people. Jerusalem, the city over which Christ wept, bears in Scripture divers meanings; but all such applications are founded on its original designation to be the seat of God's chosen people, the depository of prophetic revelation, the cradle of Christianity; the foundation, in the persons of the Apostles, of the Christian Church, and in their writings 'judging' even now 'the twelve tribes of Israel' (Matt. xix. 28), the spiritual Israel of the New Covenant. Since 'the gifts and calling of God are without repentance' (Rom. xi. 29), we may suppose that in 'the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory,' there will exist a Jerusalem—not the old one, and yet not a purely spiritual one—occupying the same locality, and inhabited by the same race; in no respect, as regards spiritual privileges, superior to the wild olive-tree grafted into the original stock, but still the spiritual metropolis of the renovated earth;—whither, through its twelve gates, 'the kings of the earth' shall repair, bringing with them 'their glory and honour,' and wherein 'the nations of the saved' shall from time to time 'walk in the light of it' (Apoc. xxi. 24). 'I must by all means keep this feast' (the Passover?) 'that cometh in Jerusalem' (Acts xviii. 21): so spake the Apostle of the Gentiles, the chosen vessel to proclaim the truth that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of the promise in Christ by the Gospel' (Ephes. iii. 6); that under the Gospel

* Pre-millennarians understand this 'healing of the nations' to refer to the sending of the Gospel from Jerusalem, the centre of millennial glory, to the unconverted heathen nations around it, in order to bring them into the fold of Christ. They urge that 'healing' (θεραπεία) cannot be applied to glorified saints, who are already healed. But the word does not necessarily signify the application of medical remedies; it may be used for strengthening, or completing the cure—for progress from a lower to a higher stage of convalescence. See Delitzsch, *Bib. Psych.* vii., § 4.

'there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free, but Christ is all and in all'; who 'withstood Peter to the face' when that Apostle wavered on the essential point of the spiritual equality of Jew and Gentile (Gal. ii.). Perhaps, 'in the regeneration,' when the typical Jewish feasts have given place to something analogous, the same Paul may be found leading 'the fulness' (πλήρωμα, Rom. xi. 25) of the Gentile Church through the gates of the holy city, to celebrate there the new Paschal feast (Matt. xxvi. 29), the marriage-supper of the Lamb, the pledge of eternal union with His bride.

'The nations' (τὰ ἔθνη) 'shall walk in the light of it.' Not merely shall the redeemed Church form, spiritually, one fold under one Shepherd, but as the saved of the Jews may reappear as a polity in their native land, so the saved of each Gentile nation may arrange themselves into communities under a government ('kings of the earth'), with political and social duties suitable to their glorified state. Heaven has been too often represented exclusively as a place of rest, its inhabitants having no occupation but praising God, or indulging in contemplation. Such, indeed, is the character and such the employments of that state; but praising God comprises not merely 'singing the song of Moses and the Lamb' (Apoc. xv. 3), but active service, arduous duty—even conflict with evil, if such should be found outside the sacred precincts. If the present life is a preparation and a school of training for another, that other, it should seem, must afford scope for the active habits acquired here—for the wisdom, foresight, courage, and endurance which our temporal experience is so fitted to form in us—and also furnish a field for the exercise of the moral sentiments, which Christianity does not suppress, but purifies and extends. The saints, clothed with white robes, 'serve God day and night in His temple' (Apoc. vii. 15). The family, the state, freed from all imperfection, may transplant themselves into paradise, and flourish in perpetual youth on a kindlier soil and under a purer heaven. And 'upon all the glory there shall be a defence' (Isa. iv. 5); the gates of the city are always open (Apoc. xxi. 25), because no enemy is to be apprehended; and the tree of life, ever accessible, yields its fruit all the year round, the means and the pledge of endless felicity.

He that testifieth of these things saith: 'Surely, I come quickly.' The whole Church, on earth and above, responds with one voice: 'Amen. Even so come, Lord Jesus.'

INDEX I.

MATTERS.

- ABSOLUTION, 178.
Advent, Second, 359.
Apokatastasis, 135; arguments for and against, 377-380.
Apostles, threefold character of, 162
Appointments, Apostolic not Divine laws, 218
Assurance, 68, 70
Baptism, 82, 96, 236; proselyte, 144, 240; its office, 237, 238; figurative sense of, 238, 239; connection with regeneration, 238-240; with original sin, 250; John's, 240; infant, 241-244.
Body, intermediate, 344-347; resurrection of, 365; nature of resurrection, 367-369; time, 367.
Calling, kinds of, 4; effectual, 10.
Catholicism, spurious, 188, 219.
Chiliasm, 361; Scripture evidence for, 363.
Christ, twofold status of, 259; ubiquity of human nature, 272; kenosis, 275.
Circumcision, 231; not a type of baptism, 236.
Church, definition of, 139; visible and invisible, 149; polity, 170; and state, 194; national, 197.
Clergy, powers of, 178; keys, 178; distinction between and laity, not of kind, 179; not priests, 183.
Confirmation, 249.
Consubstantiation, 316.
Controversy, synergistic, 16.
Conversion, 20; elements of, 21-25; necessity of, 25; instantaneous, 27.
Deacons, 174; the seven of Acts vi.?, 174.
Death, 326; prevalence of, 326; not natural to man, 327; Adam's state before fall, 328.
Election, 123; personal, 124; national, 124; not fatalism, 129; to eternal life, 130; not on account of foreseen faith, 131.
Episcopacy, 145; no instance of diocesan in New Testament, 176.
Eschatology, 325.
Eucharist, institution, 251; copula, 254; symbolical, 255; not sacerdotal, 255; real presence, 258; how Christ is present, 267; superstitious practices connected with, 276; benefits of, 303, 309; superstitious uses of, 303; effect on body, 305, 306; remission of sin not conveyed by it, 307; Zwingli, 315; Luther, 310; Calvin, 317.
Faith, Romish definition of, 24; Protestant, 24.
Fides formata, 56, 58, 62, 65.
Florence, Council of, 223.
Grace, assisting, 11; sufficient, 12; efficacious, 19; of congruity, 19; of condignity, 19; electing, 124; gratis data, 219; sacramental, 228.
Good works, necessity of, 106; of supererogation, 112.
Impanation, 316.
Infantum fides, 232, 248.
Intermediate state, 330; general remarks on, 331.
Justification, causes of, 30; etymology, 32; witness of the Spirit, 37; formal cause, 42; justifying faith, 55; degrees of, 71; first and second, 72; baptismal, 73.
Judgment, final, 371; nature of, 372.

- Law, uses of, 103, 104, 141.
 Laity, rights of, 180-182.
 Locality of departed souls, 354.
 Mass, Romish doctrine of, 290; unscriptural, 291; traces of in Irenæus and Tertullian, 294; in Cyprian, 294; fully developed in eleventh century, 295; private Masses, 296; schoolmen, 298; decrees of Trent, 299; impetratory character, 300; representation of sacrifice on cross, 302.
 Means of grace, threefold aspect of, 203.
 Meritum, de congruo, 72; de con digno, 72.
 New heavens and a new earth, 380-385.
 Oaths, 199; judicial 200.
 Passover, 232, 236.
 Pelagianism, 8, 13.
 Penance, sacrament of, 312.
 Perseverance, 117.
 Precepts and counsels, 113.
 Probation after death, 135, 347.
 Prayer, united, 206.
 Purgatory, 88, 330.
 Reformers on Eucharist, 314.
 Regeneration, definition of, 88; the Word an instrument of, 93.
 Reprobation, unscriptural, 133.
 Revivals, 17.
 Rome, Bishop of, primacy, 189.
 Sacraments, definitions, 209-213; im pressed character, 211-213, 227; number of, 216, 312; intention of minister, 212, 226; matter and form of, 220; opus operatum, 223; ex opere operantis, 224; obex, 224; ends of, 211; special grace of, 210, 211; effect of, 227; circumcison and passover, 231.
 Sanctification, 99.
 Scheol, or Hades, 337-354; derivation, 354-358; character of, 337, 355.
 Shekinah, 72.
 Soul, survives death, 332; philosophical proofs of, 333; metaphysical (Butler), 333; of brutes, 335; dreams, 335; Pentateuch, 336; prophecy, 337; consciousness, 338; development, 343; sleep of, 83.
 Sin, mortal and venial, 83.
 Succession, Apostolic, 164.
 Supra-lapsarianism, 133.
 Synagogue, origin of, 171; worship of, 171; ministers, 174-175.
 Transubstantiation, 275; patristic authority for, 279; scholastic doctrine, 282-285; Romish doctrine, 285; communion rubric, 285; results of Romish doctrine, 287-289.
 Trinity, 268.
 Unio mystica, 99.
 War, when lawful, 202.
 Will, before and after fall, 12-17.
 Word, 204; note of a church, 205; various senses of, 205; connection of with the Holy Spirit, 5-8.

INDEX II.

AUTHORS REFERRED TO.

- ALBERT THE GREAT, 298.
 Alford, 249.
 Ambrose, 278, 330.
 Apollinaris, 362.
 Apologia of Confession of Augsburg, 7, 20, 30, 105, 137, 161, 213, 214, 241.
 Aquinas, T., 37, 58, 83, 84, 94, 97, 115, 116, 209, 210, 216, 220, 221, 224, 227, 228, 240, 265, 282, 285, 288.
 Aristotle, Ethics, 196.
 Æcolampadius, 255.
 Articles, Thirty-nine, 11, 17, 18, 19, 30, 48, 53, 60, 73, 81, 84, 85, 105, 118, 127, 131, 157, 169, 199, 216, 224, 248, 250, 287, 323.
 Augsburg, Confession of, 17, 20, 30, 105, 137, 161, 213, 241.
 Augustine, 15, 40, 49, 52, 95, 111, 118, 119, 151, 209, 210, 217, 276, 295, 296, 303, 330, 362, 364.
 25-2

- Baier, 31, 358.
 Baptismal Service, 26.
 Barnabas, Epistle of, 361.
 Barrow, 156, 194.
 Bellarmine, 9, 14, 49, 56, 72, 86, 87, 109, 113, 147, 154, 160, 179, 181, 193, 209, 217, 221, 223, 225, 226, 228, 248, 265, 269, 274, 286, 290, 297, 299, 300, 304, 308, 343.
 Bengel, J. A., 347, 349, 363, 367, 375.
 Berenger of Tours, 281.
 Bethell, Bishop, 92, 93.
 Biel, Gabriel, 224.
 Bilson, 177.
 Bleek, F., 293.
 Bonaventure, 282.
 Boniface VIII., 194.
 Bossuet, 36.
 Brenz, 273.
 Browne, Bishop H., 242, 265.
 Bucanus, 134.
 Bull, Bishop, 34, 44, 53, 59-63, 107.
 Bull of Pope Pius, 194.
 Bunyan, 330.
 Burial Service, 26.
 Burnet, Bishop, 73.
 Butler, Bishop, 80, 139, 338.
 Cæsarius of Arles, 330.
 Calvin, 9, 15, 16, 18, 70, 133, 166, 215, 240, 248, 317.
 Carlstadt, 271.
 Catechism, Heidelberg, 215.
 Catechism, Roman, 24, 53, 91, 165, 219, 265, 286, 291.
 Catharinus Ambrosius, 213.
 Chalcedon, Council of, 270.
 Chemnitz, 32, 240, 273.
 Chrysostom, 218, 297.
 Cicero, 333, 336.
 Clement of Alexandria, 276.
 Clement of Rome, 182.
 Clementine Liturgy, 296, 297.
 Coleridge, 199.
 Communion Service, 266, 305, 308, 309, 322.
 Conf. Belg., 215.
 Conf. Helv., 20, 25, 27, 30, 97.
 Conf. Scot., 215, 322.
 Constance, Council of, 289.
 Cornelius à Lapide, 49.
 Cosin, Bishop, 302.
 Cotta, 316.
 Creed, Athanasian, 270.
 Creeds, 368.
 Cyprian, 177, 180, 182, 191, 276, 288, 302.
 Davenant, 46, 54, 106, 108.
 Davison, 235.
 Declaratio Thorun., 85, 105, 166, 322.
 Delitzsch, 342, 345, 346, 366, 384.
 De Wette, 40, 253.
 Diaz, 55.
 Dionysius of Alexandria, 362.
 Dort, Canons of, 18, 118, 123.
 Edwards, Jonathan, 28.
 Eusebius of Cæsarea, 276, 361.
 Fairbairn, 144.
 Field, 156.
 Formula Concordiæ, 7, 20, 104, 106, 132, 214, 271, 316.
 Frank, 273.
 Gerhard, J., 16, 30, 31, 36, 45, 68, 87, 111, 117, 118, 123, 131, 132, 135, 166, 232, 240, 248.
 Gregory the Great, 278, 330.
 Guitmund, 282.
 Hales, Alexander of, 289.
 Heurtley, 67, 75, 84.
 Hofmann, 348.
 Hollaz, 7, 30, 73, 97, 98, 104, 118, 131, 259, 328, 368.
 Hooker, 45, 84, 154, 168, 199, 225, 238, 305.
 Horsley, 348.
 Ignatius, 276.
 Irenæus, 242, 276, 362.
 Jackson, 45.
 James, St., Liturgy of, 296.
 Jerome, 177.
 Jewell, 209.
 Josephus, 172.
 John of Damascus, 270, 278, 306.
 Knox, A., 47.
 Kübel, 273.
 Lactantius, 362.
 Lange, J. P., 345.
 Lateran, Council of, 282.
 Laurence, Archbishop, 317.
 Leighton, 348, 351.
 Leo, 98.
 Lightfoot, Bishop, 174.
 Lombard, P., 209, 210.
 Lücke, 238, 253, 262.
 Luther, 59, 71, 109, 112, 131, 214, 248, 271, 312.
 Lux Mundi, 306.
 Manning, 187.
 Martensen, 315, 345, 346.
 Mede, J., 363.
 Melancthon, 56, 193, 312.
 Middleton, Bishop, 348.

- Möhler, 36, 38, 88, 105, 109, 113,
147, 148, 177, 181, 188, 190, 192,
221, 224, 228, 289, 343.
Mozley, J. B., 132.
Newman, J. H., 34, 45, 46, 53, 58,
67, 72, 94, 95, 108, 145, 147, 153.
Nitzsch, C. I., 134, 222.
O'Brien, Bishop, 67.
Occam, 272, 284.
Olshausen, 40, 50, 345.
Origen, 276, 362, 370, 375.
Osiander, 46.
Paley, 28.
Pallavicini, 55, 59.
Pascal, 14.
Pearson, 137, 146, 348.
Peter Martyr, 110.
Pighius, 44.
Prideaux, 172.
Pusey, 19.
Quenstedt, 20, 25, 27, 30, 97.
Radbert Pasch., 278, 279.
Ratramn, 280.
Reiche, 345.
Ridley, 280.
Rinck, 346.
Rothe, 160, 197.
Sarpi, 19, 177, 188.
Schleiermacher, 134, 135, 203, 332,
376.
Smalcald, Articles of, 193, 214.
Southey, 28.
Spinoza, 129.
Steitz, 276, 278, 297.
Sumner, Archbishop, 16.
Taylor, Bishop J., 155.
Tertullian, 209, 243, 276, 339, 362.
Theodoret, 279.
Tholuck, 40, 50.
Trent, Council of, 19, 20, 24, 32, 37,
43, 47, 48, 51, 55, 56, 58, 59, 62,
67, 68, 71, 73, 106, 116, 146, 159,
161, 164, 165, 178, 179, 184, 191,
212, 216, 219, 223, 228, 231, 240,
286, 288, 290.
Turretin, F., 16, 18, 123, 132, 133.
Twisten, 143.
Usteri, 345.
Vasquez, 111.
Victorinus, 362.
Vitringa, 171, 174, 175.
Wall, 240, 242.
Warburton, Bishop, 199.
Waterland, 91, 184, 261, 262, 264,
295, 310, 311, 313.
Westcott, 230.
Whately, Archbishop, 330, 358, 373.
Whitby, 16, 117, 121, 126.
Winer, 144, 253.
Zwingli, 215, 255.

INDEX III.

PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE CITED OR EXPLAINED.

GENESIS.

	PAGE
i. 28 - - -	366
31 - - -	380
ii. 7 - - -	334, 370
17 - - -	327
24 - - -	75
iii. 15 - - -	232, 235, 364
17, 18 - - -	380
iv. 10 - - -	340
xvii. 7 - - -	232
xxii. 18 - - -	232
xxxvii. 35 - - -	354
xxxviii. 26 - - -	32
xlili. 38 - - -	354

EXODUS.

iii. 6 - - -	235
iv. 22 - - -	90

EXODUS—continued.

	PAGE
xii. 24-27 - - -	254
xix. 5, 6 - - -	167
23 - - -	99
xxi. 7 - - -	20
xxii. 11 - - -	200
xxiii. 7 - - -	32
xxiv. 8 - - -	254
xxviii., xxix. - - -	164
xxxiv. 29 - - -	346

LEVITICUS.

xix. 12 - - -	200
---------------	-----

NUMBERS.

xxx. 2 - - -	200
--------------	-----

DEUTERONOMY.

xxx. 6 - - -	232
--------------	-----

JOSHUA.			MALACHI.		
		PAGE			PAGE
xxiii. 7	-	200	i. 11	-	143, 290
1 SAMUEL.			MATTHEW.		
xxviii.	-	336	iii. 3	-	144
14	-	345	11	-	20
19	-	354	12	-	110
JOB.			v. 20	-	51
ix. 2	-	32	21	-	202
x. 20-22	-	336	31	-	201
xix. 25-27	-	336	34	-	200
xxxiii. 32	-	32	38-41	-	202
PSALMS.			48	-	51
xvi.	-	336	v.	-	24, 83
xxxii.	-	33, 48	vii.	-	24
lxiii. 9	-	354	ix. 2	-	39, 64
lxxviii. 18	-	357	x. 15	-	85
cxxxix.	-	336	34-36	-	238
cxliii. 2	-	48	42	-	110
ISAIAH.			xi. 22	-	85
vi. 5	-	48	11	-	234, 241
xi.	-	359, 381	xii. 32	-	83, 88
xiii.	-	359	31, 32	-	85
xiv.	-	336	xiii. 24-27	-	151
xxv.	-	359	39, 40	-	363
xxv. 8	-	337	41-43	-	374
xxxii.	-	359	47, 48	-	151
xxxv.	-	359	xvi. 17	-	148
lx.	-	359	16-19	-	191
lxv. 17-25	-	359, 381	18	-	150
JEREMIAH.			xviii. 20	-	206
vi. 20	-	143	19, 20	-	139
xxxi. 31-34	-	143	xix. 17	-	51, 107
EZEKIEL.			28	-	89, 381, 384
xiv. 51	-	171	xx. 15	-	134
xvi. 1	-	32	16	-	124
xxxi. 18	-	354	xxii. 3	-	5
xxxvii.	-	337, 368	30	-	369
DANIEL.			32	-	338
ii. 32, 33	-	20, 53	xxiii. 33	-	111
ix.	-	48, 49	xxiv. 2	-	173
xii.	-	337, 355	24	-	36, 129
HOSEA.			7, 12, 14, 21	-	36
xiii. 14	-	337	xxv. 31	-	363
JOEL.			34, 35	-	110, 359
ii. 28	-	242	xxvi. 18	-	100
AMOS.			20, 26-28	-	252
v. 21	-	143	29	-	260, 363, 385
HABAKKUK.			39	-	207
ii. 4	-	73	63	-	200
			xxvii. 23	-	367
			xxviii. 17	-	150, 182
			18	-	275, 372
			19	-	241
			19, 20	-	236, 237
			20	-	185, 204

MARK.

	PAGE
i. 4 - - -	77
ii. 17 - - -	5
xiii. 23 - - -	220
35-38 - - -	50
ix. 24 - - -	70
x. 13-16 - - -	248
15, 16 - - -	247
21 - - -	11
39 - - -	238
45 - - -	64
xiii. - - -	32
xiv. 22-24 - - -	252
xvi. 15 - - -	5, 64, 202
20 - - -	5

LUKE.

iv. 16 - - -	172
vii. 5 - - -	203
37-48 - - -	65
xi. 24 - - -	17
xii. 47, 48 - - -	85
xvi. 22 - - -	86
26 - - -	350, 355
31 - - -	5
xviii. 14 - - -	34
xix. - - -	19
xxii. 19-20, 29-30 - - -	252, 253, 363
xxiii. 43 - - -	86
xxiv. 33-36 - - -	217
39 - - -	258, 278
43 - - -	369

JOHN.

i. 4 - - -	126
9 - - -	4
iii. 4 - - -	120, 228
5 - - -	80, 89, 230, 238
8 - - -	29
12 - - -	3
13 - - -	273
iv. 1, 2 - - -	240, 243
13 - - -	101
14 - - -	122
23 - - -	142
v. 25, 26 - - -	322
28, 29 - - -	367
vi. 51 - - -	64
51-63 - - -	262, 313, 321
52 - - -	254
53 - - -	238
54 - - -	263
63 - - -	268
vii. 36 - - -	2
39 - - -	233

JOHN—continued.

	PAGE
viii. 56 - - -	355
x. 3-16 - - -	5
16 - - -	150
27, 28 - - -	150, 155
28 - - -	121
xi. 11 - - -	341
25 - - -	235, 367
xii. 32 - - -	64
xiii. - - -	5
xiv. 2, 3 - - -	111, 345
6 - - -	126
16 - - -	159
17 - - -	267
13 14 - - -	206
xiv.-xvi. - - -	267
xv. 2 - - -	17
3 - - -	256
xvi. 3 - - -	2
7 - - -	267
8 - - -	23
13 - - -	218
24 - - -	206
xvii. 3 - - -	343
6 - - -	129
23 - - -	268
32 - - -	365
xviii. 23 - - -	201
28 - - -	252
xx. 19 - - -	272
21-23 - - -	162
xxi. 15, 16 - - -	162

ACTS.

i. 3 - - -	162
4 - - -	2
i. 5 - - -	76
24-26 - - -	182
ii. 24 - - -	367
38 - - -	73, 76, 230, 250
41, 42 - - -	139, 185
42 - - -	145, 204, 257
46 - - -	185
47 - - -	3, 139
ii., x. - - -	191
iii. 1 - - -	173
9 - - -	250
21 - - -	374
v. 6 - - -	174
34 - - -	19
42 - - -	64
vi. 6 - - -	165
5, 6 - - -	182
15 - - -	346
vii. 51 - - -	16

ROMANS—*continued.*

	PAGE
xiii. 1 - -	162, 195
10 - -	59
xv. 16 - -	186
xvi. 5 - -	149

1 CORINTHIANS.

i. 7 - -	359
14-17 - -	185
16 - -	242
17 - -	204
23 - -	22
30 - -	100
ii. 10-14 - -	6
iii. 8 - -	111
15 - -	88
16 - -	98
iv. 1 - -	217
15 - -	163
v. - -	87
4 - -	183
vi. 1-3 - -	373
11 - -	313
13 - -	369
19 - -	166
vii. 1 - -	114
14 - -	242
x. 16 - -	230, 256, 260
xi. 23-26 - -	185, 252
24, 25 - -	184
26 - -	252
29 - -	262
31 - -	374
xii. 3 - -	6
8-11 - -	167
13 - -	76, 149, 313
xiii. 2 - -	57
3 - -	115
13 - -	58
xiv. - -	168
15 - -	163
xv. 6 - -	341
10 - -	112
23 - -	367
24-28 - -	275
25 - -	260
26-28 - -	378
28 - -	135
41 - -	110
42-44 - -	260
44 - -	350, 370
45 - -	321
52 - -	344, 345

2 CORINTHIANS.

i. 22 - -	229
-----------	-----

2 CORINTHIANS—*continued.*

	PAGE
23 - -	200
ii. 6 - -	183
16 - -	17
iii. 18 - -	343
iv. 6 - -	22
v. 1-5 - -	344
3 - -	329
4, 5 - -	93
8 - -	342
10 - -	353
16 - -	260
17 - -	89
20, 21 - -	64
21 - -	44
vi. 2 - -	2
16 - -	166
vii. 10 - -	20, 107
ix. 6 - -	111
xi. 10 - -	200
xii. 4 - -	205, 356
xiii. 5 - -	38
14 - -	99

GALATIANS.

i. 15 - -	128
20 - -	200
ii. 11 - -	191
16-20 - -	61, 70
iii. 2-9 - -	57
6, 7, 17 - -	243
27 - -	239
iv. 6 - -	29, 39, 90
v. 6 - -	57
17 - -	49, 102
vi. 7 - -	353

EPHESIANS.

i. 4, 5 - -	128, 135
10 - -	378
13 - -	40, 229
13, 14 - -	93
20 - -	349
22 - -	149
ii. 1, 10 - -	13, 89
8 - -	131
10 - -	132
20 - -	163, 383
iii. 3, 6 - -	185, 217
6 - -	384
17 - -	98, 268
iv. 4 - -	149, 237
8 - -	357
9 - -	354
11, 12 - -	204, 307

EPHESIANS—*continued.*

	PAGE
15, 16 - - -	149
18 - - -	22
30 - - -	40, 93, 229
v. 8 - - -	22
14 - - -	21
17 - - -	25
26 - - -	77, 239
26, 27 - - -	150
30 - - -	75, 305
32 - - -	217
vi. 14 - - -	21
11-18 - - -	103

PHILIPPIANS.

i. 21 - - -	86
22 - - -	102
22-24 - - -	339, 342, 344
ii. 6, 7 - - -	359
9 - - -	275
10 - - -	252, 354, 378
12, 13 - - -	13, 102
iv. 6 - - -	207
13 - - -	51
18 - - -	110

COLOSSIANS.

i. 14 - - -	64
20 - - -	378
27 - - -	3, 268
ii. 12 - - -	76, 236
15 - - -	357
19 - - -	149
ii. - - -	61

1 THESSALONIANS.

i. 3 - - -	57
4, 5 - - -	6
8 - - -	17
iv. 14 - - -	373
15, 17 - - -	341, 345, 363, 367
17 - - -	373
v. 12 - - -	180

2 THESSALONIANS.

i. 7, 8 - - -	382
7, 10 - - -	360
ii. - - -	360
3 - - -	360
9 - - -	360
13 - - -	128, 135
iii. 1 - - -	6

1 TIMOTHY.

ii. 1, 2 - - -	208
iii. - - -	174
16 - - -	218, 265, 350, 352

1 TIMOTHY—*continued.*

	PAGE
iv. 3 - - -	61
14 - - -	175
v. 10 - - -	218
17 - - -	175
vi. 16 - - -	332

2 TIMOTHY.

i. 9 - - -	128
10 - - -	337
iv. 9 - - -	176

TITUS.

i. 5 - - -	77, 89
ii. 13 - - -	359
iii. 5 - - -	77, 89, 239, 313
12 - - -	176

HEBREWS.

i. 1 - - -	233, 337
ii. 9 - - -	275
14 - - -	100
15 - - -	365
16 - - -	381
vi. 3 - - -	167
4 - - -	142
4, 6 - - -	17, 120
10 - - -	110
12 - - -	21
36 - - -	107
vii. 13 - - -	291
viii. 4 - - -	291
13 - - -	186, 291
ix. 24 - - -	291
27 - - -	353
x. 25 - - -	208
xi. - - -	57, 66
xii. - - -	22, 23
xiii. 16 - - -	110
17 - - -	180

JAMES.

i. 18 - - -	93, 239
ii. 2 - - -	140
19 - - -	24
23 - - -	34
v. 12 - - -	200
14 - - -	216

1 PETER.

i. 2 - - -	129, 132
10, 12 - - -	342, 349, 364
23 - - -	89, 93, 204, 239
ii. 2 - - -	307

1 PETER—continued.				1 JOHN—continued.			
			PAGE				PAGE
4, 6	-	-	140	v. 4	-	-	103
5	-	-	150	18	-	-	89
8	-	-	133	REVELATION.			
iii. 18, 20	-	-	347, 357	ii. 1, 2	-	-	208
19	-	-	340	ii., iii.	-	-	360
21	-	-	77	11	-	-	71, 73
iv. 6	-	-	347, 351	iii. 20	-	-	268
2 PETER.				v. 9	-	-	72
i. 4	-	-	99, 211	vi. 11	-	-	345, 346
ii. 5	-	-	348	vi.	-	-	340
iii. 4	-	-	360	vii. 9	-	-	345
6, 7	-	-	382	14	-	-	340
13	-	-	369, 381	15	-	-	385
1 JOHN.				vii.	-	-	366, 383
i. 1, 8	-	-	49	xiii. 8	-	-	233
8	-	-	109	xiv. 3, 4	-	-	114
12	-	-	112	13	-	-	86, 347
ii. 2	-	-	133	xv. 3	-	-	385
19	-	-	122	xix. 7	-	-	261
iii. 4	-	-	83	xx. 1, 6	-	-	363, 364
9	-	-	122	11, xxii.	-	-	381, 385
9, 18	-	-	89	xxi. 2	-	-	150
iv. 3	-	-	263	xxii. 12	-	-	110, 111

THE END.

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